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New Jersey as a Colony  
and as a State







*P. H. Brown*



AS A COLONY AND AS A STATE

*One of the Original Thirteen*

BY  
FRANCIS BAZLEY LEE

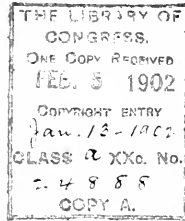
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THE ORIGINAL THIRTEEN COLONIES.





**D**URING the later period of the confederation, there was no national party organization. There had, indeed, lasted beyond the close of the Revolutionary War the use of the terms "Tory" and "Whig," which, however, became more general in their application, Tory in popular language representing conservatism, Whig standing for radicalism.

With States plunging toward anarchy, their commerce the prey of Algerine pirates, and a defeated nation refusing to obey the terms of a treaty of peace, there could be but one means of salvation—that of the union of men holding like views upon the question of a new federal government. The choice lay between a firm central power obeyed at home and respected abroad, or a series of small independencies racked by civil strife. From the chaos came the first attempts at organizing public sentiment along distinctive party lines. As to what measures should be adopted men's minds were in a state of flux. The extreme or "high flying" Federalists were said to favor the establishment of a monarchy, a view actually entertained by a very limited number of men, who had previously been, in the main, open or secret Tory sympathizers. The extreme anti-Federalists desired the continuation of the confederation, leaving to the future the

adjustment of all vexatious problems. This latter view had popular support. Between the extremes lay the mean—men who as Federalists and anti-Federalists desired a republican form of government, subject to revision in case the experiment proved unsuccessful.

In New Jersey the Federal spirit was dominant, largely because the State was conservative and had been, in colonial times and under her constitution, accustomed to the centralization of power. The personal influence of men of prominence largely swayed public opinion. First and foremost was William Livingston, for fourteen years governor of the State, himself a Federalist. With him was the erudite John Witherspoon, the president of the College of New Jersey, while of scarce lesser importance were Senators William Paterson and Jonathan Elmer, Governors Richard Howell and Aaron Ogden, and Chief Justice James Kinsey.

Not only the leading lawyers and clergy, but nearly all the members of the Society of Friends, the wealthy Dutch landowners of the northeastern part of the State, and the entire Tory element, were Federalistic to a greater or less degree. An active agency, improperly charged with advancing the alleged monarchical theories of the extreme Federalists, was the Society of the Cincinnati. Organized at the cantonment of the Ameri-



can army on the Hudson River in 1783, the purposes of the society were of the purest, its objects being the preservation of the rights and liberties of the whole people, the promoting and cherishing of union and national honor among the States, and the stimulating of fraternal affection among its members. Confined to officers of the continental lines, observing to a limited extent the rule of primogeniture in the selection of members, and adopting an insignia, the society became the object of suspicion, ridicule, and hatred. This, however, was not so apparent in New Jersey, where a State Society of the General Society was formed as early as June, 1783. Many of the members were avowed Federalists, the State Society, however, taking but little part in politics. Nevertheless there was bitterness, and a constant fear that those men of honor, who had fought upon the fields of Trenton and Monmouth, had starved in Morristown and Valley Forge, because they wore a badge upon which was engraved "Omnia reliquit servare rempublicam," would intrigue with England and bring a prince of the royal line to rule over the United States.

In New Jersey the opposition to the early Federalist party was never well defined. In the first days of the movement there were few men of prominence able or willing to lead a distinctively popular propaganda. In this element were

men of local influence, men whose political ambitions secured them a temporary presence in the House of Assembly, but who found the way barred for future advancement. There were many who sympathized with the anti-Federal cause, but who felt that too much power should not be given to those who in early life had been redemptioners, keepers of stores at crossroads, or captains of sailing vessels. One figure, however, looms up prominently as a recognized leader of this unorganized host. It is that of Abraham Clark, of Elizabeth, signer of the Declaration of Independence, a forceful man, of arbitrary political will, a Jackson in miniature. He it was who, during the legislative session of 1784, had the reputation of being the author of an act "for Regulating and Shortening the Proceedings of the Courts of Law." As in Massachusetts there was in New Jersey an imperative demand for such legislation as would stay the "payment of debts and fulfillment of contracts." Superseded by Paterson's act of 1799, which was logical and uniform, Clark's law secured the redress for certain glaring evils and brought him into prominence as a candidate for governor in 1786.

Around the person of Governor Livingston centered the political activities of New Jersey. His unquestioned capacity as a statesman, his achievements in the fields of literature, his in-

tensity of purpose and unimpeachable honesty made him admired if not beloved. Further than this he was the intimate friend of General Washington, whose years of military life in New Jersey during the Revolution had all but idolized him in the minds of the people of the State. Where Livingston led the masses were quite willing to follow, for his way led to success.

It was but natural that from 1776 to his death in 1790 William Livingston should year after year be honored with the position of governor of New Jersey. Through the war and the period of subsequent despair he had controlled the destinies of a small State, harassed by larger neighbors and subject to political distractions. He had accomplished one of his life's desires—the establishment of a Federal form of government, in the formation of which New Jersey had played a most conspicuous part. Few men had been more fortunate in seeing their dreams realized. Yet in spite of his patriotic services there was an undercurrent of opposition to Governor Livingston. This is clearly evinced by the proceedings of the joint meeting of the Legislature. From 1776 to 1790, during his term of office, there were only five years—1777, 1781, 1782, 1788, and 1789—in which candidates did not appear against him. The first joint meeting in 1776 found Richard Stockton his opponent, the vote being a tie.

Stockton was later defeated, and being offered the chief justiceship of the State refused to accept the office. In 1778, 1779, and 1780 General Philemon Dickinson was a candidate for governor, his support never exceeding ten votes, while in 1780 the name of Chief Justice Brearley was presented to the Legislature. In 1783 John Cooper, of Gloucester, received one vote. Cooper apparently led the opposition to Governor Livingston, an opposition which was largely centralized in West Jersey. In 1784 General Elias Dayton received five votes for governor, while in 1785 and 1787 David Brearley again appears as a candidate. Governor Livingston's opponent in 1786 was Abraham Clark.

With the assembling of the first Congress in 1789 party lines were in great confusion. For Washington, as President, sixty-nine electoral votes had been cast, with thirty-four for John Adams as Vice-President and thirty-five scattering. In his desire to avoid partisanship Washington had chosen as members of his cabinet two men who were afterward to lead the great political organizations of the closing years of the century—Alexander Hamilton, the Federalist, and Thomas Jefferson, the anti-Federalist or Republican. To still further preserve the political unities Edmund Randolph, an associate of Jefferson, was selected as attorney-general, while the chief justiceship of the United States fell to John Jay

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and the war department to General Henry Knox, both Federalists.

The work of the first Congress was directed mainly toward the settlement of the tariff and the regulation of commerce, both measures being generally popular in New Jersey. The commercial spirit of the State had found early expression in an attempt to adjust in a primitive way these important subjects. Indeed New Jersey had been partially attracted to federal union by the fact that, with commercial matters in the hands of a federal government, she would no longer be dependent upon the whims and caprices of New York and neighboring States. As early as March 5, 1777, the joint meeting of the Legislature elected commissioners to meet at York, Pennsylvania, with commissioners from New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, to consider a system "respecting the regulating the Price of Labour, of Manufactures, and of internal Produce within the said States, and of Goods imported from foreign Parts, except military Stores; and to confer upon such Measures as they shall think most expedient to remedy the Evils occasioned by the present fluctuating and exorbitant Prices of the Articles aforesaid." Although the matter ultimately came to naught the principle of protection to home industries was recognized in

New Jersey nearly half a century before it became a party tenet.

With the close of the first session of the second Congress, during the summer of 1793, begins the real history of party organization. Although the original Federalist party had secured the passage of the constitution, in retaining a name it retained its old elements of strength, holding the support of its adherents of early days. Under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton, whose cabinet quarrels with Thomas Jefferson filled every newspaper, the Federalist organization had been effected. Once in existence party spirit knew no bounds. With the undoubted connivance of Jefferson and Madison Philip Freneau had appeared in the government employ as an official translator, and with his *National Gazette* assailed Hamilton, Adams, and even Washington. All the vehement bitterness of a pen ever dipped in gall animated his diatribes. His partisanship was unlimited, his satire unbounded. In the cabinet Jefferson says that he and Hamilton were "pitted against one another like gamecocks," while Washington, sorrowfully attempting to arbitrate, utterly failed to reconcile the discordant elements. It was the beginning of that period of strife which required a civil war to answer the question: "Is the Union a league government?" as claimed by the strict Constructionists or Republicans led by Jefferson,

or "Is the Union a centralized national government?" as was contended by the loose Constructionists or Federalists led by Hamilton.

Once more the Federalists and Republicans united upon Washington as President in the election of 1792. For Vice-President John Adams was elected over George Clinton, of New York, the candidate of the Republicans.

From 1790 to 1793 there had been no outward expression of change in the sentiment of New Jersey. Although the death of William Livingston had deprived the party of its great local leader the mantle of the governorship fell upon William Paterson, who without opposition for three successive years until 1793 was elected by joint meeting of the Legislature.

On March 30, 1793, Governor Paterson tendered his resignation as governor of New Jersey by reason of his acceptance of the office of associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; and on June 3d the joint meeting of the Legislature proceeded to the election of a governor ad interim. The candidates were Richard Howell, who received twenty-five votes; Frederick Frelinghuysen, who had fourteen votes; and John Rutherford, who had nine votes.

With the opening of the spring of 1793 news was brought to America that France had declared war against Great Britain and Holland. This crystal-

lized in New Jersey and in other States, particularly in the South, a strong republican spirit. The levelling tendencies of the French revolution had awakened the support of the extreme Republicans, who in their admiration for France had been led to adopt the dress and manners of the continental Revolutionists. Events in 1793 passed with great rapidity. President Washington's proclamation of neutrality and the attitude of "Citizen" Genet, the French minister, served but to excite the passions of the pro-French Republicans. The President was accused of being an ally of England, and of attempting to abrogate the French treaty of 1777. In the first session of the third Congress, which met in December, 1793, there was an openly expressed hostility to England, and preparations were made for retaliation upon a nation against which the Republicans made numerous charges. Refusing to abandon her military posts, or to pay for slaves carried away by her armies, under the terms of the treaty of 1783, England was accused of inciting the Indians to attack upon the north-western frontier, of being instrumental in letting loose the Algerine pirates upon American commerce, of impressing American seamen, and of compelling corn ships bound for France to seek English ports, where they were seized and the captains and owners tried before English judges. To adjust these differences the Federalists wished



to create a navy and preserve a strict neutrality between France and England, while the Republicans wavered between a total prohibition of English trade and the establishment of discriminating duties. In domestic affairs the Republicans were favoring a direct tax, censuring Hamilton's management of the treasury, and advocating the passage of a constitutional amendment securing States against suits in the United States courts. This was almost immediately followed by the reception of Jay's treaty with England. In spite of its omissions to secure all the rights of Americans upon the high seas and in open ports that extremists desired President Washington signed the document. The Republicans were in a fury. Charged with treason, Washington was threatened with impeachment and assassination.

In New Jersey the Federalists were enabled to retain control of the machinery of State government. On October 25, 1793, the ad interim successor of Governor Paterson, Richard Howell, a pronounced Federalist, was chosen, unopposed, and was reelected in 1794, although United States Senator John Rutherford was presented to the Legislature as a candidate for governor, but the minutes of the joint meeting fail to record the vote. During the years 1795, 1796, 1797, and 1798 the election of Governor Howell was unanimous

and the Federalist party apparently had a firm grasp upon the State of New Jersey.

Although the Republicans had failed to obtain power in New Jersey a leader of the party looms large in the first session of the fourth Congress. This was Jonathan Dayton, a member of Congress from New Jersey, who had already, on March 27, 1794, identified himself with the Republican movement by moving to sequester all moneys due British creditors and apply them towards indemnifying shipowners for losses incurred through the orders in Council.

In opposition to Frederick A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, the Republicans presented Jonathan Dayton's name as speaker, and after a sharp contest, the house being Republican, Dayton was elected. Quarrelling with the President over the Jay treaty, which later operated far more advantageously than had been generally expected, this session of the Congress embraced the retirement of General Washington into private life and the presidential election, in which John Adams in 1796 was elected President and Thomas Jefferson Vice-President.

From intense admiration of France the United States, in 1797, turned to a quarrel with her old ally. The insolent treatment of our minister, Pinckney, the demand of a bribe by the directory and a loan to the republic under the "X. Y. Z."

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negotiations, and the open attacks of France upon our commerce led to active preparations for war. A provisional army under the command of Washington was organized, men-of-war were sent in search of French vessels committing depredations upon American commerce, intercourse with France was suspended, and all treaties with France were abrogated. Thus far the display of a war spirit met with general approval, and with the cry: "Millions for defense, not one cent for tribute," the Federalists secured the support of the masses of Republicans and alienated all but the extremists from their Francophobia.

Grown great with sudden political success, looking forward to absolute domination in the republic, the Federal party, not content with their achievements, entered upon a policy which proved disastrous, and in one short year prepared the way for its speedy downfall and ultimate death. Upon June 25, 1798, Congress passed the "Alien law," an act directed against a large and constantly increasing body of continental emigrants, particularly Frenchmen, and most of whom were Republicans. The statute authorized the President "to order any alien whom he should judge dangerous to the peace and liberties" of the United States to depart from its jurisdiction. Heavy penalties were imposed upon aliens refusing to obey the order. In less than a month the

“Sedition Law” was enacted, making it a penal offense for persons to combine or conspire to oppose the measures of the administration, or to utter any false, scandalous, or malicious writing against the United States Congress or the President. This act was limited in operation until March 3, 1801, when the term of office of President Adams would expire. Instantly from the Republican press rose the cry of alarm. A blow had been struck at the first constitutional amendment prohibiting Congress from passing laws to abridge the freedom of the press or of speech. Under the guise of patriotism, it was said, the Federalists united discordant political elements in a prospective war with France, our friend and savior in the Revolution, for the only purpose of distracting attention from a partisan scheme to secure control of State and Federal patronage. The warlike attitude of the United States brought France to terms of peace, and in spite of clamor the Federalists obtained control of the sixth Congress, 1799-1801.

It was at once decided by the Republicans to secure an expression of opinion from the Legislatures of two States where Republicanism was a powerful political factor. Under the leadership of Madison in Virginia and Jefferson in Kentucky the “Resolutions” of those States were adopted in 1798. In substance these resolutions were similar, and in a broad sense may be said to be the

first platform of the strict-construction party. They declared that the constitution was a compact by which the States had surrendered only a limited portion of their powers; that whenever the federal government undertook to step over the boundary of its delegated authority it was the right and duty of *the States* to interpose, and maintain the rights which they had reserved to themselves; that the alien and sedition laws were a usurpation by the Federal government of powers not granted to it; and that the State of Virginia solemnly declared those laws to be unconstitutional. Kentucky took the view that *the States* were one party to the compact and the federal government was the other, and that each party must be the judge of infractions of the agreement and of the mode and measure of redress. An appeal to the other States to adopt these or similar resolutions having been met with refusal, they were repealed in 1799, Kentucky, in excess of Jefferson's advice, declaring that any State might rightfully nullify and declare void any act of Congress which it might declare unconstitutional—a precedent for the doctrine adopted by South Carolina in her Nullification fiasco in 1832, and by the seceding States in 1860-61.

To add to the disasters of the Federalists President Adams, without consultation with his cabinet, sent envoys to negotiate peace with the

French Directory, headed by Napoleon Bonaparte. Between Alexander Hamilton and the President there was evident ill feeling, which later culminated in the dismissal of the "British faction," Hamilton's friends, from the cabinet. In revenge Hamilton not only attacked the President in print, but undertook to deliver to Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist candidate for Vice-President, sufficient electors to insure him the presidency, while Adams, who was the candidate for President, was to be made Vice-President. But the "waiting policy" of Thomas Jefferson and his rival, Aaron Burr, of New York, had borne fruit, and with the vote of South Carolina the Republican electors in 1801 were declared to have a majority.

In New Jersey the intrenched Federalists had in their wild intoxication and misuse of power erred in attempting to enforce the alien and sedition laws. Even to the most conservative element of the party the error appeared fatal. The revolt found its first expression in the joint meeting of the Legislature in October, 1799, when even the personal popularity of Governor Howell could not prevent the nomination of Andrew Kirkpatrick as a candidate for governor. The Jeffersonian seeds had ripened in part, and although the vote stood thirty-three to fifteen in favor of Governor Howell the Republicans had captured the entire delega-



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tions from Essex and Morris, all four members of the House from Sussex, and one member each from Middlesex, Somerset, and Cumberland Counties.

In the eastern part of the State not a little missionary work had been accomplished for the Republicans by members of the Tammany Society—the Columbian Order,—named in honor of the Lenni-Lenapé chief, Tamenand, of whom it was said that he loved liberty more than life. Originally formed in New York City as a patriotic organization, the Tammany Society later became an active partisan organization, aiding the Republicans in their local and State contests. Through President Washington's denunciation of "self-constituted societies," and owing to the drastic action of Republican organizations in Philadelphia and elsewhere during the Whiskey Insurrection, the Tammany Society lost much of its early membership. Thenceforth under the leadership of one of its founders, William Mooney, and his sachems, the Tammany Society actively supported Jefferson and the Republican administration.







**I**T WAS not alone the dissemination of the doctrines of "fraternity, liberty, and equality," nor the cockades, nor the toasting and boasting transported to America from France that assured the triumph of Republicanism—the age of the new democracy. Nor was it the newspaper press, nor the fervid oratory, nor the activity of politicians that produced strange results. Each State presented local conditions that advanced or retarded the movement, and New Jersey was not an exception to this rule. And of these local conditions one element, but little regarded, had an influence as weighty as it was enduring.

Into the life of the colony as early as 1770, while yet men's minds were sorely troubled with what might come from the box of political evils with which the British ministry, Pandora-like, were trifling, there had come the apostles of a new religious society, chief among whom was an unknown Major Webb, of the British Army. He led a strange little group of enthusiasts, and there were many who remembered the earlier coming to America of its founders—John and Charles Wesley—and of their work with George Whitefield. But no one realized that those who gathered together the first Methodist societies in New Jersey—often meeting in private houses, barns, or woods of Trenton, Burlington, New Mills, or Salem—

would later wield so vast an influence. It was in the United States and particularly in New Jersey, after the societies had outlived the storm and stress of the Revolutionary War, that the Methodist Episcopal Church underwent a metamorphosis. Designed by its founders as a protest against the ritualism and lack of zeal of the Church of England, but not as a separatist movement, Methodism, like the agitation previous to the American Revolution, outgrew the object for which it was instituted. Boldly attacking slavery, the older and more conservative faiths regarded the movement first with apathy, then with intense interest, and finally with well-founded apprehension. Then broadening out in matters of polity the new faith was intensely aristocratic with its bishops and presiding elders, but in its relation to its adherents it was as intensely democratic. To Methodism there were no distinctions of color, of political affiliation, of age or sex. It reached down to the submerged class and welcomed saint and sinner alike. Before its itinerant ministers the Deists trembled and fell into trances under the "outpouring of the spirit." Its members were ruled with a rod of iron, casting aside their jewels, daily arising before the sun for prayer, and confessing hidden sins in public. The slave and his master were converted before the same altar and assembled in the same "class

meeting." Women became active in the churches, and gave a somewhat "institutional" character to the work of the societies. Particularly in that portion of New Jersey south of the Raritan, at the opening of the century, the Methodist Episcopal Church gathered to itself all kinds and conditions of men. In the sections dominated by the Society of Friends it grew with the greatest rapidity. Men of position left the meeting of Fox for the meeting of Wesley. It may have been a hope for greater freedom of personal action, and a grasping for a position where there would be less formality. It may have been the desire for a change, a desire animating so many men, the causes for which are too deep for explanation. It may have been a yearning for some direct manifestation of the spiritual presence, but whatever the cause Methodism swept away many a vestige of colonial lines of social caste.

It has been well said that the great power of Methodism over its followers was that it was dynamic. The itinerant ministry, composed of men of strong wills and noble ambitions, the system of "Quarterly Meetings" bringing together people who, previously unassociated, met in a fraternal spirit, made Methodism a most active agent in association. Under its influence barriers were broken down and new fields were open. Every member became an enthusiastic disciple. It was, in short,

the ecclesiastical exponent of a new democracy which swept over the southern end of the State and bore before it the most cherished traditions of the more conservative elements in the community.

As a purely social influence such a religious society profoundly affected men who, in the enthusiasm of a recent conversion, made their political actions conform to their religious convictions. Thus it was wider in its scope than the Whitefield movement, which depended so largely upon the personal presence and influence of one great leader, and found its limitations in the modifications of the austerities of colonial Calvinism.

The spirit of the new democracy had also pervaded the laws, many of which were revised by Governor William Paterson under the authority of the Legislature between 1790 and 1800. The crudities of Clark's practice act was, by Governor Paterson, reduced to comparative perfection by the new act passed in 1799. Under his wise direction the practice in the court of chancery was vastly improved: fines and common recoveries, relics of feudalism, were abolished in the same year, and poor persons were assisted in the prosecution of their suits by free process, assignment of counsel, and exemption, if plaintiff or complainant, from the payment of costs.

By the close of the century benefit of clergy was



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abolished, while corruption of blood, disinherison of heirs, loss of dower, or forfeiture of estate were obliterated as penalties in cases of conviction or judgment. Cruel treatment of slaves was made an indictable offense, and a penalty was imposed upon those who violated the provisions of the statute.

In the court itself practitioners of the law laid aside their gowns. Governor Bloomfield requested that the members of the bar practicing before him as chancellor should cease the custom of addressing him as "Your excellency," while in 1801 a statute provided that any lawyer who should offer to read any compilation, commentary, digest, lecture, treatise, or other explanation or exposition of the common law, or any adjudication, decision, or opinion made, had, or given in any court of law or equity in Great Britain, written or composed since the 4th of July, 1776, should forfeit his license. This law, breathing the old spirit of opposition to royalty and the new spirit of democracy, remained on the statute books for several years, when it was repealed through the influence of William Griffith, Joseph Hopkinson, and Governor Isaac H. Williamson.

The newspapers of the day, both Federalistic and Republican, while they lacked every form of enterprise characteristic of modern journalism, lacked neither the power of vituperation or the

ability to slander men and denounce measures. The wildest linguistic flights of the modern "yellow newspaper" fall far short of the superhuman efforts made by the editors of a century ago. Impartial discussion was unknown; reason had no place in editorial comment. In news gathering the editors were woefully deficient. One may seek in vain, even in so conservative a sheet as Isaac Collins's *Gazette*, for any allusion to the building in which, during 1784, Congress met in Trenton. Proceedings of public bodies were recorded in briefest terms, events of the day were neglected or treated from a partisan standpoint. It was only in marriage notices, where the bride was always "amiable," "beautiful," and of the "most respectable connections," or in announcing deaths, where the "lamented relict was wrapped in the fatal shroud," that the editor turned from politics to well-meant prevarication. Fires were "lurid conflagrations," the loss was always "considerable," the family "homeless." Murders "startled the community," and hailstones even a century since were "as large as hen's eggs." No special features adorned any newspaper page, devoted as it was to long and tedious essays, political diatribes, and poetry, whose mediocrity was only exceeded by its length. Advertisements alone remained, and these possess more human interest than all other printed matter in the newspaper, as each is a little

mirror of the needs and desires of the people and the means taken to gratify them.

As early as the Revolution the language used in the newspapers was far from formal. Thus in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, upon April 21, 1779, a prisoner, among others captured in Sussex County, is designated as "formerly a magistrate under the tyrant George Whelps, Esq., and lived at Coshecton—No doubt but the Court-martial, which is now trying them will honour them with a share of Continental hemp."

During the next year a correspondent of the *Pennsylvania Packet*, alluding to raids through East Jersey proposed by the King's troops, says:

Vaughan, the fire-brand who has the command on the island swears by the Eternal God he will burn every house in Elizabeth-Town. Our comfort is, that he as well as other Devils has his chain; beyond this he cannot go.

Small wonder is it that with such precedents the ideals of journalism sunk lower and lower.

Until the opening of the century several attempts had been made in New Jersey to establish newspapers. Most of these were failures. The reading public was limited in numbers, local news was easily disseminated by word of mouth, and the newspapers of New York and Philadelphia were to be found in taverns, the well-springs of gossip. Besides newspapers were expensive, owing to the cost of white paper, the scarcity of type,

and the cost of delivery by carrier or by post. Circulations were estimated in three figures, few if any reaching five hundred, and uniformity in advertising rates was practically unknown.

Of the newspapers published in New Jersey previous to 1800 but imperfect files remain. At Bridgeton in 1795-1796 the *Argus* was printed under the editorial direction of Alexander McKenzie and James D. Westcott. As early as December, 1775, an association was formed in Bridgeton, of which organization Dr. Jonathan Elmer was president and Ebenezer Elmer was secretary. The object of the society was the dissemination of patriotic news by means of a written sheet known as the *Plain Dealer*, of which eight numbers have been preserved. To encourage free expression of political opinion a notice was given "that pieces handed in would be corrected and transcribed for public view, that they may be read every Thursday morning by any one who will take the trouble to call at Matthew Potter's bar." The *Plain Dealer* lasted but a short time, and no subsequent efforts were made to establish a newspaper until the *Argus* appeared. The short life of the *Argus* was traditionally due to an article written by Westcott, who, replying to an effusion written by Dr. Jonathan Elmer, so offended that influential man that he and his friends withdrew their support.

In Burlington in 1790-91 appeared the Burling-

ton *Advertiser or Agricultural and Political Intelligencer*, while at Chatham, from 1779 to 1783 the *New Jersey Journal* was issued under the direction of Shepard Kollock. Under the advice of General Knox Kollock, who had been a lieutenant in the Revolutionary Army, he established his weekly paper among the hills of Morris County, where his press, protected from raids of the King's troops, did effective service for the cause of liberty. At the close of the war the *Journal* was discontinued, Kollock removing to New York City after the evacuation of the enemy. Here he printed a newspaper which met with temporary success. From 1783 to 1785 Kollock conducted the *Political Intelligencer and New Jersey Advertiser*, which newspaper, upon being removed to Elizabethtown, became the *New Jersey Journal* during the year 1786. Since then the *Journal* has maintained a continuous existence. So long as Kollock continued his journalistic career he was an unwavering advocate of anti-Federalism, being a hearty supporter of Thomas Jefferson and of Madison's war policy.

The removal of Kollock from Morris County led an enterprising publisher, David Cree, to attempt the establishment of a newspaper in 1784. Its career was short, its very name being unknown. In 1797-98 Elijah Cooper and Jacob Mann issued the *Morris County Gazette*, the press being the property of Caleb Russell. In 1798 the *Genius*

*of Liberty* was born, its editor being Jacob Mann, who in 1801 became one of the founders of the *Trenton True American*.

In Newark it appears that Hugh Gaine, as early as 1776, printed his *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* in the city, although it was not until 1791 that Woods's *Newark Gazette*, a Federalist publication, appeared, which was continued until 1797. In opposition to the *Newark Gazette* the *Centinel of Freedom* was first issued in 1796, with Daniel Dodge as printer and Aaron Pennington as editor. Intensely anti-Federal, this newspaper quarrelled bitterly with the Federal administration, and became one of the means of establishing the party of Jefferson in Essex County. The *Centinel of Freedom* was later merged into the *Newark Daily Advertiser*. In 1797 the *Newark Gazette* appeared under the proprietorship of John H. Williams and Jacob Halsey and Company, while in 1798 the short-lived *Rural Magazine* met the fate of so many similar publications.

New Brunswick was early the home of newspapers. From 1783 to 1785 the *Political Intelligencer and New Jersey Advertiser* was issued by Shepard Kollock, which in 1786 was followed by the *Brunswick Gazette* under the editorship of Abraham Blauvelt, who published the paper until 1792. During the same period Shelly Arnett was the editor of the *Brunswick Gazette and Week-*

*ly Monitor*, while in the years 1786-87 the *New Jersey Magazine* was printed by Frederick Quequelle and James Prange.

The year 1792 saw the appearance of the *Guardian or New Brunswick Advertiser*, by Arnett and Blauvelt, Arnett retiring in 1793. From 1793 to 1796 Shelly Arnett was the proprietor of Arnett's *New Jersey Federalist*, the *Genius of Liberty*, and the *New Brunswick Advertiser*, an associate in the venture being George F. Hopkins.

In Sussex County from 1796 to 1798 the *Farmer's Journal and Newton Advertiser* was printed under the direction of Elliott Hopkins and William Huston. During 1786 and 1787 the *Princeton Packet and General Advertiser*, by James Tod, had an equally brief career.

The failure of Isaac Collins in 1786 to sustain the *New Jersey Gazette*, in spite of powerful influences, did not discourage other publishers from coming to Trenton. During 1787-88 the *Trenton Mercury* and the *Weekly Advertiser* were published by Frederick C. Quequelle and George M. Wilson, while in 1791 the *New Jersey State Gazette*, published by George Sherman and John Mershon, entered upon a long career.

The year 1801 witnessed the appearance of the *Trenton True American*, which in the central and southern portions of the State was the most influential of all Republican or Jeffersonian newspapers. This paper has existed for a century.









**W**HEN the century was new there were scattered through the villages of New Jersey many of those bearing the names of original emigrants and living in ancestral homes. To glance at these, noting the geographical distribution of family patronymics, to record some—and only a few—of the most distinguished, and to touch lightly upon certain characteristics of architecture will give an insight into a certain phase of social life now almost forgotten.

Of the homes upon the narrow strip of fertile mainland that fringed the bays between Squan and Cape May none was more conspicuous than the Somers mansion at Somers Point. Abundant in its memories of Captain Richard Somers and his tragic death in the waters of the Mediterranean Sea, it was nevertheless a scene of many gaieties, there being entertained the patriotic Colonel Richard Westcott, of May's Landing; the Wests, who came from their stately, retired home at Catawba; the Leamings, the Spicers, and Townsends, of Cape May; and the Mays, of May's Landing.

To the southward lay a line of plantation houses upon the seacoast of Cape May County. Conforming to the prevailing type of seacoast architecture from Long Island to North Carolina, the houses were usually low and rambling, frequently faced

with riven white cedar shingles, their interiors being of oak, red cedar, holly, and gum. Here dwelt those whose names are best known in the annals of the merchant marine—the Corsons, Cresses, Skellingers, Stiles, Youngs, Eldridges, Crawfords, Hewitts, Goldens, Willetts, and Whilldens. Then there were the owners of the great estates, who lived in simple elegance; the Leamings, with their slaves; the Ludlams, of Dennis Neck, some of whom kept their deer parks; the Steelmans and the Hughes. Long since the old whaling town of Portsmouth, near Cape May, had been swallowed up by the sea, leaving only “Coxe Hall,” where the manorial lord, Colonel Daniel Coxe, had rented out his lands on payment of fat capons on feast days. Farther north, when one had crossed the wastes of old Gloucester and had come to the province line separating modern Burlington from old Monmouth, there stood, at Tuckerton, the mansion of Judge Ebenezer Tucker, while upon the banks of the Mullica River and its tributary streams, and along the shores of Barnegat Bay, were the homes of the Cranmers, Frenches, Andrews, Gaunts, Parkers, Osbornes, and Falkinburgs, the latter traditionally descendants of Henry Jacobs, Indian interpreter upon the banks of the Delaware. Those of Cape May, old Gloucester, Burlington, and old Monmouth formed a community of identical interests, holding close to old-time traditions and modes of

life, and, like the Inmans, of Long Beach, who went a-whaling as late as 1825, having their daily affairs closely associated with the sea.

From the broad meadows of the Maurice River Valley to the ancient settlements between Woodbury and Camden the mansions of the landed proprietors were largely of brick, although as far north as Salem the wooden houses of the seacoast were by no means infrequent. Centering at Bridgeton, the home of the Elmers, Bowens, Bucks, Whites, Woodruffs, and many another family of equal prominence, the social and political life of Cumberland County converged. In the Dividing Creek section were the Sheppards, Garrisons, and Reeves; at Fairfield the Harrises, Ogdens, and Batemans; at Greenwich the Fithians, Dares, Reeves, Holmes, Maskells, Mulfords, Bacons, Parvins, and Seeleys. Near Port Elizabeth, at Spring Garden Ferry, had stood the Swedish church in whose yard were the graves of Mosslanders, Vanamans, and Petersons, while at Port Elizabeth were the Lores, the Bricks, of Bricksboro, and the mansions of the Lees, Townsends, and Quaker Ogdens.

Crossing the line into Salem County, Salem City presented a type of life distinctly Virginian. Hospitality abounded, the spirit of slavery died slowly, men took life easily. It was Salem—"the peaceful." Here were stately homes—those of the

Sharpes, the Carpenters, the Halls, the Sinnicksons, the Cripps, with memories of Swedish days and of the little colony of Frenchmen led by Hypolite Le Fever. At Pittsgrove, named in honor of the great English statesman and friend of American liberties, were the Vanmeters, the Newkirks, the DuBois, the Sparks, and the Garrisons. At Friesburg, by the Wistar glass works, was a colony of Germans, whose descendants brought skilled labor to every glass house in Southern New Jersey, while at Lower Alloway's Creek were the Moores, Sayres, and Hancocks, and the traditions of that staunch patriot, the Rev. Samuel Eakin, of the Penn's Neck Church, a second Whitefield, and deified by the Revolutionary soldiery. The Hancocks of the "Bridge," the Pedricks, and the Matlacks are but a few of famous family names of this region.

Within the limits of that portion of old Gloucester now embraced in the lines of Gloucester and Camden Counties no one family was more conspicuous than the Coopers, whose ferries lie at the foundations of Camden City's growth, and whose title deeds embraced many a broad acre. It was in the city of Camden, whose farms were then remote from Philadelphia, that famous duels were fought, of which one never to be forgotten was that in which the eccentric William Cobbett and

the scholarly Mathew Carey participated, while ranging throughout the entire section the members of the Gloucester Fox Hunting Club drove its prey forty miles to Salem, or well nigh within sight of the sea. From 1776 to 1818 its membership embraced those who were prominent in the First City Troop of Philadelphia, and gave to the New Jersey organization a reputation second only to that other world-famous Philadelphia Club, the "Colony," and later the "State in Schuylkill." Of the Gloucester fox hunters the leader was Jonas Cattell, a man of superior strength, who upon one occasion walked from Woodbury to Cape May, a distance of eighty miles, bearing a letter, and returned the next day with an answer.

Upon or near the river front were the Kaighns, the Kays, the Haddons, the Matlacks, the Spicers, the Collins—all members of the Society of Friends,—while Swedesboro had in its vicinity the Rambos, Helms, Keens, Hoffmans, and Vanne-mans, and yet talked of its old pastor, the Rev. Dr. Collin, who made the first translation of Israel Acrelius's "History of New Sweden." At Haddonfield the council of safety and State Legislature had assembled in the darkest days of the Revolution; at Arawamus Gloucester folk had set up an independent county government while yet the province was young. At the "Landing" were the Chews. Erick Mullica had given his name to

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Mullica Hill, and Woodbury had been long settled by the Quakers.

The great and wealthy County of Burlington lost but little of its colonial conditions. Burlington, the ancient capital of West Jersey, in spite of the fact that the seat of the county's political government had been moved to Mount Holly, was still a center of social and particularly of intellectual life. From the press of the Allinsons had gone out many a book and pamphlet. Here had come Elias Boudinot to write his "Star of the West," while in old Saint Mary's yard lay the bones of William Bradford, first attorney-general of the United States. On Green Bank was the home of the Binneys, here had been the mansion of Governor William Franklin, here had resided the Smiths, the Sterlings, the Morrises, and the Schuylers, famed in divers walks of life. Nor had Mount Holly been lacking as a place of prominence. Here Stephen Girard had laid the foundations of his fortune and married a beautiful wife, while tradition had it that William IV, King of England, had once resided in one of the small streets, and, driven from Philadelphia by the yellow fever and from San Domingo by uprisings, a French element had been infused into the local population. Near by dwelt the Woolmans, at Rancocas; the Eayres, plantation and millowners, of Eayrestown; the Burrs, of Vincent-



town; while at Quaxon and at Edgepelick Brainerd had preached to the last of the Lenni-Lenapés. New Mills, the home of Colonel Reynolds, of the Revolution, and the Budds, had not yet received the name of Pemberton, while through the rich lands of Chesterfield and Springfield, the Blacks, Newbolds, and Bishops held social sway. Still farther to the east Arneystown, Wrightstown, and Sykesville commemorate the names of plantation-owning families.

At Bordentown the Bordens and the Hopkinsons were awaiting the coming of a deposed King of Spain, who was soon to establish a court—almost regal—in the white mansion of Point Breeze.

It was but natural that around the then new state capital of Trenton, the home of the governors and men of political prominence in New Jersey, much of the social life of the section should be drawn. In the city itself there were the families of the settlers—descendants of Mahlon Stacy, the founder; of Chief Justice William Trent, for whom the town was named; as well as of such pioneer folk as Howell, Lanning, Ely, Reeder, Reed, Hutchinson, Potts, Scudder, and Chambers. In nearby Hopewell were the Stouts, Houghs, Burroughs, Harts, Mershons, Tituses, Phillipseys, Wellings, and the homes of Colonel Joab Houghton, a Revolutionary hero, and Wilson P. Hunt, leader of the first commercial expedition sent by John

Jacob Astor to the Pacific slope, and immortalized in Washington Irving's "Astoria." To the south of Trenton were the Quaker settlers of Nottingham, the Abbotts, and the Watsons; in Lawrence (then called Maidenhead) were the Greens, Belerjeaus, and Bainbridges.

Throughout the continent Princeton was famous. Leading the social life of the town were the Stocktons, of "Morven," who a century since had left the old home at Burlington, and in the cemetery, since called the "Westminster of America," lay these presidents of the college: Aaron Burr, Sr., Samuel Davies, John Witherspoon, and Samuel Stanhope Smith. Commodore William Bainbridge had been born in the town. Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States, was soon to sleep there beside his father. And near by Princeton was Kingston, with its two famous inns: Withington's, familiar as a stopping place on the journey between Philadelphia and New York, and Van Tilburgh's, the temporary home of governors, federal senators, and politicians of lesser note.

Of what is now Monmouth County Freehold was a recognized center. As the shire town it possessed antiquity and had been long known as Monmouth Court House. Here were the families of Colonel Thomas Henderson, the Cowenhovens, the Van Cleves, the Vanderveers, of Sheriff David

Forman, and of General David Forman, known in the Revolution as "Black David" or "Devil David." Tennent church, with its memories of Whitefield, Brainerd, and the Tennents, was hard by, while at Tinton Falls Colonel Morris, years ago, had established his iron works. Joshua Huddy, in the Revolution, had defended his home at Colt's Neck against the marauding mulatto, Colonel Tye, and the Eatons had given their name to a village.

Along the "North Shore" in the Middletown region—in honor of the Scotch settlers called New Aberdeen—were the Stouts, Grovers, Holmes, Coxs, Pattersons, and Whites. Among them had come the French Huguenots, chief of their descendants being Philip Freneau, of Mount Pleasant, while Sandy Hook, with its legends of the Indians and its traditions of piracy, immortalized by James Fenimore Cooper in the "Water Witch," had been a part of the great estate of the Hartshornes, of Portland Point. Upon the western side of the county, in the farms of Cream Ridge, were the Gills, of Eglington, the Montgomeries, the Imlays of Imlaystown, and others scarce less prominent.

Around New Brunswick—earliest known as Inian's Ferry—had settled a thrifty but conservative colony of Hollanders from Albany and its vicinity. The city was rich in traditions—of the

elegance of the home of Philip French, of the hospitality of the Schuremans, the Van Deusens, and the Neilsons, of the volume-filling deeds of maritime valor of Captain Adam Hyler and Captain Marriner, residents of the town, who ranged the coast from Sandy Hook to Cape May. Then there was Queen's College, struggling amid its vicissitudes, and the quiet life of the good people, the porches of whose homes opened out upon the Raritan, and before whose doors the figure of Commodore Vanderbilt was soon to pass as he rose from poverty to affluence. Bayward was Perth Amboy, the story of whose social life in the Revolution was told by William Dunlap, the portrait painter. Here were the old "Saint Peter's set," led by the Parkers and the Skinners and others equally prominent—names that were social passports. Nearby was the Piscataway region with the Fitzrandolphs, the Drakes, the Freemans, the Dunhams, the Molesons, the Grubbs, the Slaughters, the Laflowes, with central figures, Dr. Moses Bloomfield, and Colonel Zebulon M. Pike, the explorer of the western continent, whose boyhood was spent in Woodbridge after his birth in Lambertton, an early suburb of Trenton.

Through the valley of the Raritan, among the hills of Somerset and Hunterdon Counties, were many homes of the Dutch settlers, who so stamped their individuality upon that portion of the State.

Of these old mansions few were of wood, nearly all being built of stone, and differing much from the brick type of the southern central part of New Jersey or the wooden houses of the seacoast. Of the homes in Somerset that of William Alexander, Lord Stirling, was most notable, being even more elegant than that of his kinsmen, the Stevens family. Yet at Basking Ridge were the residences of the Rev. Dr. Finley, projector of the African Colonization Society, of the Southards—Samuel Lewis, senator of the United States, and his father, Henry, member of the House of Representatives, who, by a strange coincidence served upon a joint committee of Congress in the discussion of the “Missouri Compromise” measure. At and near Somerville the Wallace House as well as the home of General John Frelinghuysen and the residence of the Rev. J. S. Vredenburgh were conspicuous, while upon the banks of the Raritan were the mansions of Colonel Vroom, the Dumonts, the Van Nestes, and of the Van Derveers, at which latter home Stephen Van Rensselaer, of the patroon family of New York, married a daughter of the Hon. William Paterson. At Millstone was the home of General Frederick Frelinghuysen, at Rocky Hill the homes of the Van Horns and the Berriens.

Nor had Hunterdon County mansions less interest. To the county seat the Flemings had

given their name, while Readington had become the home of an old Gloucester County family, one of whose members, John Reading, had twice acted as colonial governor of New Jersey. In honor of John Lambert, also acting governor of New Jersey, Coryell's Ferry had become Lambertville, while at Ringoes was a famous tavern kept by a family of that name. Hunt's Mills became Clinton, while through the county were the Byrams, Reas, Voorhees, Potters, Lowreys, Sergeants, Cases, and Apgars,—a few of many old patronymics.

Of the names of famous men and their homes in Elizabethtown that of Governor William Livingston and "Liberty Hall" is unquestionably the most conspicuous, even among those of General Matthias Ogden, Chancellor Williamson, General William Crane, and John Chetwood. Yet there is one who must not be forgotten—the Reverend James Caldwell, the martyr of the Revolution. There, too, was the Governor Ogden house, formerly the residence of Governor Belcher. In this house had been entertained Jonathan Edwards, General Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and later General Lafayette.

In Elizabethtown a strong French emigration had identified itself with the early life of the settlement. The distinctive Calvinistic characteristics marking the growth of Elizabethtown had at-

tracted thither a small colony of Huguenots, led by the Boudinots, and of which other families were the Vergereaus, the Jouets, and the Noes. Superimposed upon this emigration was another element of French stock, which came to America by way of the West Indies, driven thence at the close of the eighteenth century as emigrés, and seeking in Elizabethtown freedom from oppression. Mrs. Emeline G. Pierson, in a paper read in 1895 before the New Jersey Historical Society, has preserved the names of some of these, most of whom were members of Saint John's Protestant Episcopal Parish. There were the Lady Anne Renèe Defoeger de Mauperrins, widow of the Baron de Clugny, governor of the Island of Guadeloupe, Marie de Rousalat Campbell, and such families as the De Clots (who entertained Jerome Bonaparte and his wife, whom he had married in Baltimore), the De Touchimberts, De Maroles, Malherbes, Cahierres, Libertons, Du Bucs, Godets, Triyons, Cuyers, Dufors, and Mosquerons, as well as Terrier de Laistre and Almonde Tugonne. To the town this colony, now almost forgotten, gave a touch of vivid color, and in their mansions, now so largely destroyed or abandoned, entertained the most conspicuous people in the State.

Of this French colony its most prominent figure was unquestionably Joseph Louis, Count d'An-

terroches, born at the chateau of Puy Darnac near Tulle, Limousin, Department of La Coreze, France, upon August 25, 1753. As the second son he was educated for the church, his elder brother, the Vicomte d'Anterroches, becoming one of the lieutenant marshals of France. The vicomte emigrated to London at the time of the French revolution and, dying there in exile, left no male issue. Thus Joseph Louis ultimately became the head of his family. The young man studied with his uncle, Alexander Cæsar d'Anterroches, Bishop of Condom, but finally concluded that he preferred a military life and ran away from France and joined the English Army, his parents buying him a commission. He was made an ensign in the Sixty-second Foot in 1776. This regiment formed a part of Burgoyne's army, and young d'Anterroches was captured by the Americans in a skirmish just prior to the surrender at Saratoga. He immediately asked for writing material and, communicating with his kinsman, Marquis de Lafayette, "the two young Frenchmen were soon in each other's arms." During the remainder of the Revolution the count, then known as "the Chevalier," seems to have been in the American lines, no doubt a prisoner on parole. His situation thus complicated was also embarrassing in that, while holding a commission in the British Army, his own country, France, had taken part with the



Americans. He married in 1780 Mary, daughter of Captain David Vanderpoel, of Chatham Bridge, New Jersey. After the war they went to New York and at the French legation a second ceremony was performed in order to conform to the requirements of the French law.

Finally settling in Elizabethtown about 1784, the Count d'Anterroches several times visited France and upon the occasion of his last visit, was apprehended by the authorities of the French republic as an emigré, and thrown into prison. Documentary proof of his residence in Elizabethtown before the French revolution ultimately secured his release. In the Whiskey Insurrection of 1794 he volunteered and was appointed major and aide-de-camp on the staff of General Anthony Walton White. Later when war with France was imminent he offered his services to his adopted country and was commissioned by President Adams as a captain in the provisional army. On the back of his miniature, now in the possession of his great-grandson, Warren R. Dix, of Elizabeth, he is described as a "consummate tactician, possessing the art of imparting his knowledge to others and gaining their confidence and affection." Dying in France upon the 18th of January, 1814, the Count d'Anterroches left no descendants of his name in America. Through the female line there are numerous descendants.

Near Rahway had lived Abraham Clark, that unique figure in politics, and John Lawrence, who has immortalized himself in these quaint obituary lines :

From London truly famed came I,  
Was born in Stains a place near by,  
In Rahway of old age did die,  
And here intomb'd in earth must lie,  
Till Christ, ye dead calls from on high.

Around Springfield were the Denmans, the Van Winckles, and the Whiteheads, and about Westfield the Bakers, Marshes, Piersons, Robinsons, Yeomans, Corys, Cranes, Meekers, Hatfields, and Littells.

At Newark were many notable men resident upon Broad Street. On the east side of that great thoroughfare were Judge Elisha Boudinot, Dr. Uzal Johnson, the Ogden mansion near Market Street, the home of John Noble Cumming, the Crane and Hayes houses, and the mansion of Judge William Burnet, while upon the west side were the home of the Rev. Dr. Ogden, the Sayres mansion, the parsonage of the Presbyterian Church, occupied by the Rev. Dr. Macwhorter, where Vice-President Aaron Burr was born, and the home of Peter J. Van Beckel, minister from Holland to the United States. Here were the offices of the *Centinel of Freedom* and *Woods's Gazette*, the taverns of Gifford and of Sayre, and the old jail.

In Orange were the homes of Senator John Condict and Dr. Isaac Pierson, while at Belleville were the old houses of Colonel John Schuyler and his irascible pastor, Rev. Gerardus Haugevort, and near the mines the home of Colonel Peter Schuyler, near whom lived Josiah Hornblower, the artisan-scientist. In this region people still remember the famous garden of Colonel Peter Schuyler which so attracted the attention of Rev. Andrew Burnaby, vicar of Greenwich, an observant Englishman, who travelled through New Jersey about the middle of the eighteenth century. Burnaby was impressed, as, indeed he might be, with Schuyler's rare collections of tropical plants, citrons, oranges, limes, lemons, balsams of Peru, aloes, and pomegranates, while near by was a park in which were kept deer and moose.

In Jersey City and the present smaller cities of Hudson County there were old families, descendants of the Dutch settlers, against whom Washington Irving drove the shafts of his wit in his description of Communipaw. Many an acre lay in the hands of the Van Vorsts, the Van Winkles, the Van Reypens, the Vreelands, and the descendants of the Berrys, the Lawrences, and the Cadmuses. Across the meadows lay Hackensack and the uplands of Bergen County, where nearly every family name was traceable to Holland ancestry. There in the town had dwelt

Mayor Richard Varick, of New York, and the distinguished Peter Wilson, D.D., of fame among lawyers, teachers, and ministers. This influence of Holland swept across the Passaic and left in the settlement of the county of that name families of the sturdiest of Dutch emigration.

With the growth of Morris County there had come into its wide valleys those of the elder stock of the more eastern portion of the State. In Madison—first known as Bottle Hill—were the Halseys, Burnets, Lums, Millers, and Hortons; in Hanover the Tuttlés, Kitchells, and Richards; at Mendham the Byrams and the Drakes; while some historians credit Morristown with being the birthplace of Daniel Morgan, who, early taken to Virginia, became the famous scout of the Revolution. Near Dover was a home—almost palatial—of the Hon. Mahlon Dickerson. Into the western part of the county came the Schooleys and the Budds, the latter from Burlington County, while that strange New England sect, the “Rogerines,” lived at or near Succasunny.

Sussex County, although partially settled, had many a family whose descendants later gained prominence in New Jersey. It was early the training ground of men of intellectual activity, and furnished in the upbuilding of Newark and other cities of the eastern portion of New Jersey elements of strength. Thus at Branchville were the

Colts, Prices, Gustins, and De Witts; in the Stillwater region the Swartwouts, Hunts, and Harkers, who had defended the county in the Indian raids; the Coopers and Deckers, of Deckertown; the Meddaughs, Westbrooks, Jobs, Winfields, Wildricks, and Shumars, of Wantage; and the widely scattered Anderson family.

In Warren County there had been Colonel William McCullough, of Asbury, a town named in honor of Bishop Asbury; at Hardwick the Shafers, Dyers, Wilsons, and Lundys, Samuel Hackett, of Hackettstown, and Major Robert Hoopes, of Belvidere. And among them all were the peace-seeking Moravians at Hope, who from 1770 to 1806, in following the spiritual teachings of Count Zinzendorf, had essayed the establishment of a community, but were doomed to disappointment.









**T**HE opening of the second war with England found New Jersey peculiarly exposed to the assaults of an enemy. On either side of the State, as in the Revolution, lay two great commercial cities, tempting prizes for the great fleet which the British were preparing to send to the North Atlantic coasts. To the west was Philadelphia, glorying in a vast commerce, trading with the East and West Indies, with the Southern States, and with the important seaports of Europe. To the east was New York, rapidly becoming Philadelphia's rival, possessing the advantage of a wide and deep harbor and an open waterway leading to the rich and rapidly developing agricultural section of the central part of the Empire State. To capture either or both of these cities, desolate the surrounding country, and demand an adequate ransom was the dream of the British government—a dream alone unrealized because of the daring, the sacrifice, the loyalty of American sailors upon the ships of war which scoured the high seas.

Since the Revolution the seacoast of New Jersey had remained quite unsettled. Of the towns between Sandy Hook and Cape May Tuckerton had grown into a place of importance; the remaining sections were undeveloped and unimproved. Upon Delaware Bay, however, there was

more enterprise. The Maurice River Valley had within its limits the new but progressive village of Port Elizabeth, Bridgeton had become a large center, Salem and Woodbury were places of trade, while dreamers and visionaries saw a future Camden at Cooper's Ferries. Around New York there had been much greater growth. Jersey City was springing from the marshes, Paterson and Newark had their manufactories, population was centering, and in embryonic form was taking on early phases of city life. Therefore New Jersey had much at stake.

But in times of peace the lessons of the Revolution had been forgotten. As in a past century, the State was unprepared in the organization of its militia. Occasional training days, with their fights and frolics, were little better than useless. If success in arms came it was only through adaptability and shrewdness, not through discipline and technical military knowledge.

It was not apathy alone, however, that rendered the position of New Jersey insecure. There was in the State, and had been since the first mutterings of war, a large and influential "peace party," composed politically of Federalists, and having as its adherents two classes of citizens who sought peace from widely different motives. One of these classes was opposed to hostilities upon purely humanitarian grounds. Once more the story

of the Revolution was repeated. The Society of Friends, as a body, arrayed themselves against the war, not so much in any spirit of disloyalty as in obedience to the oft-expressed declarations of non-combatancy. The influence of such a position was far reaching. Later, when in the midst of hostilities, when New Jersey was most exposed to attack, Governor William S. Pennington, an administration leader, delivered an inaugural message recognizing the justice of the ethical position taken by the Society. Upon the 13th of January, 1814, the governor called attention to this "virtuous, respectable, and useful class of citizens," and asked the Legislature if "it would not best comport with the honor and interest of the State wholly to exempt such members of this religious society as come within our militia laws from all military duty, both in war and peace." In addition the governor suggested a graduated tax to be levied in times of peace and war, the collections to be devoted exclusively to the purposes of civil government. Owing to the possible unconstitutionality of such an act the suggestion was not adopted. The second element in the "peace party" was moved by no ethical considerations. To a growing body of manufacturers, common carriers, and merchants war meant disaster. The position taken by New England found some sup-

port in New Jersey, and from the first a spirit of opposition to war measures hindered the organization and equipment of the militia and offered but tardy assistance in coast protection. So strenuous was this spirit of antagonism that Governor Pennington ultimately addressed himself to the Legislature, and in the same message in which he honored the position of the Society of Friends attacked with bitterness the commercial greed of the remainder of the "peace party." Of the opponents of the war he said :

The baneful spirit of Mercantile Monopoly, injustice and oppression \* \* \* are now, by means of British example, British attachment, and it is apprehended, British influence, corrupting our citizens and producing profligate combinations, not only for monopolizing articles of foreign production, but engrossing and forestalling the indispensable necessities of life, thereby answering the double purpose of acquiring gain and creating discontent, artfully laying at the door of government evils caused by their own turpitude.

Nor was the situation relieved by the virulence of the party press. The Republican newspapers, aggressively triumphant, the Federalist journals, sustaining their dying partisan cause, left untouched no political or personal scandal. Every item of news was distorted; men and measures were assailed with a bias and bitterness unknown in modern journalism. From legislative proceedings a clearer but by no means perfect view of public questions may be had, yet even to the gov-

ernor's messages and in the resolutions of the House of Assembly and Council the spirit of partisanship gave an intensity of expression, almost dramatic, and an earnestness which shows how deep an impression the progress of the war made upon the State.

The winter of the years 1811-12 found the Republicans in control of the machinery of State government and the leaders of New Jersey's dominant political party in accord with the policy of the national administration. In spite of all efforts the Federalists, with their slowly decreasing but still influential minority, had failed to protract the commencement of hostilities. War was inevitable, and to the end that the attitude of New Jersey should be clearly defined the House of Assembly, upon the 11th of January, 1812, resolved that the government of New Jersey entertained a full and perfect confidence in the wisdom and integrity of the federal government, and that New Jersey would readily accord in any measures proper for the redress of national honor, and to this end the persons and the property of the citizens of the State were pledged.

These resolutions were preceded by a brief review of the circumstances leading to a possible declaration of war. The European situation, the hostilities of frontier savages, the attack on the "Chesapeake," the refusal of Great Britain to

adopt the rule "Free Ships make Free Goods," were not in themselves sufficient cause for belligerent action, said the Legislature, but the real causes of complaint were dual and left no doubt or hesitation in the mind.

First was the abominable practice of impressing native American seamen while in the pursuit of a lawful commerce, forcing them on board Great Britain's ships of war, and compelling them, under the lash, to fight against nations with whom the United States was at peace and even against the United States itself.

Second were the depredations on the legitimate commerce of America, it being avowed by the British government that an American-built ship, owned by citizens of the United States, navigated by native American seamen, laden with goods, the growth and manufacture of the United States, not contraband of war, and bound to a belligerent port, which was neither invested nor blockaded, was subject by the orders of the British government to seizure and condemnation. In this respect, said the Legislature, "the flagitious conduct of the rulers of Great Britain needs no comment; it is too notorious to be denied, too palpable to be susceptible of explanation, and too atrocious for palliation or excuse."

The introduction of these resolutions met with approval throughout New Jersey, being stimula-

tive to the subsequent declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain during June of the same year. In the position taken by New Jersey the Federalists saw the death of their party, and as a last resort used a trick then as novel as it has since become necessary. A superhuman and successful effort was made by the Federalists to drag the State from its Democratic anchorage, and in the fall elections of 1812 the party succeeded in controlling the House of Assembly and Council and in electing Aaron Ogden governor. Then it was that the Federal leaders, imitating the tactics of the Massachusetts Democrats in 1811, introduced the famous "Gerrymander" into New Jersey politics. Resorting to legislation, every effort was made to sustain the party in power. Foreseeing the probabilities of Democratic success, a Federal Legislature on October 29, 1812, passed an act directing that electors for President and Vice-President of the United States should be appointed in joint meeting of Council and Assembly, and upon the 7th of November enacted that representatives in Congress should be elected by districts, two members to each district. This statute created three districts: one composed of the Counties of Bergen, Sussex, Essex, and Morris, the second embracing the Counties of Middlesex, Monmouth, Somerset, and Hunterdon, and the third the Coun-

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ties of Burlington, Gloucester, Cape May, Cumberland, and Salem.

The Democrats were loud in their protests, declaring that both acts were unconstitutional, and the State was vastly stirred, a condition by no means alleviated by reason of the declarations of the legislative attitude of the Federalists of New Jersey concerning the war. Upon the 10th of November, immediately following the passage of the gerrymander, the House of Assembly boldly denounced the continuance of the struggle, declaring that a great, prosperous, and happy nation, without preparation, had been suddenly plunged into an unnecessary war, and that liberty, national honor, independence—all that the Revolution accomplished—had been put to the hazard of a hopeless contest. Following this line of argument, the members of the General Assembly declared that war with Great Britain was “inexpedient, ill timed, and most dangerously impolitic,” that the contest was as improvidently commenced as its conduct had proved wasteful and disastrous, that the course leading to a connection with the military despotism of France was more dangerous than the war itself, that an investigation into the cause of the war be conducted, that a negotiation for a treaty of peace be opened, but that so long as the country be involved in war New Jersey would endeavor to preserve the union, defend the



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State and advance the safety and honor of the republic.

Upon this resolution a vote was taken showing by the attitude of the members of the house a clearly defined sentiment throughout the State regarding the war. The delegations from the Counties of Cumberland, Essex, Morris, Salem, and Sussex, with one member from Hunterdon, voted against the resolutions, while the resolutions were favored by the members from Bergen, Burlington, Cape May, Gloucester, Middlesex, Monmouth, and Somerset, with a majority of the members from the County of Hunterdon. It will be noticed that the counties in which the anti-war sentiments of the Society of Friends were strongest were a unit, and that with the exception of Essex all the counties of East Jersey, in the vicinity of New York, were in favor of the discontinuance of hostilities.

Although differing radically from the national administration, with a large portion of the Federal party unfavorable to war, Governor Ogden met conditions as he found them, and by his display of energy disproved the attacks of disloyalty made against him and his party on the part of the Democratic press. Upon the 21st of January, 1813, the governor called the attention of the Legislature to the unpreparedness of the State in case of invasion and urged the training of the militia, and

in every way endeavored to attest his loyalty. Further, not only upon the field, but at sea, soldiers and sailors, avowed Federalists, were among the most conspicuous of those who brought victory to American arms. Yet such loyalty availed the party but little in its struggle to retain power and place in New Jersey.

From the drastic nature of partisan legislation, to which the voters of the State were unaccustomed, there was a speedy and successful revolt. The year of power—1813—in which Federalism had dominated State politics hastened rather than retarded the lingering death which had fastened itself upon the party. In spite of promises to sustain the struggle, peace measures, for which Federalism, in general, stood, savored too much of that New England spirit which in December, 1814, found its fullest expression in the attitude of the Hartford convention. New Jersey wanted none of such doctrines, and it occasioned no surprise that in the autumnal elections of 1813 the Democrats were swept into control and William S. Pennington was elected governor by the Legislature. In his first annual message Governor Pennington reviewed the situation as to war measures, congratulating the State, although in an exposed condition, on being free from invasion, grateful that abundant harvests had blessed the husbandman, and that domestic and public manu-

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factures had prospered beyond the most sanguine expectations.

In his message of January 13, 1814, Governor Pennington called attention to the dispositions made by the general government for the protection of the city and port of New York, but viewed with alarm the exposed condition of the shore of New Jersey from Sandy Hook to Cape May and thence up Delaware Bay. For protection of such exposed points the governor recommended the placing of adequate field artillery and the enrolment of corps of patriotic citizens. Such confidence was reposed in the ability of Governor Pennington that he was requested by the Legislature to visit the seacoast and shores of Delaware Bay, which he did, placing at the disposal of the local militia such field artillery and small arms as the resources in his control justified. Such remained the political condition of New Jersey until the termination of the war and the return of peace.







**T**HE storm cloud which had long been gathering at last broke in fury. Congress, as early as April 10, 1812, nearly two months before a formal declaration of war between the

United States and Great Britain had been made, under an act "to authorize a detachment from the militia of the United States" empowered the President to take measures for the purpose of organizing, arming, and equipping one hundred thousand militia to be raised among the States for six months' service. For this purpose one million dollars was appropriated. To the call of Congress New Jersey made quick response, for within fifteen days Governor Bloomfield issued an order to mobilize five thousand State militia, the command whereof was assigned to Major-General Benjamin Ludlow.

Two problems now confronted New Jersey: the defense of her exposed seacoast, and the protection of the neighboring cities of New York and Philadelphia. In case of attack her sacrifices must be great—far in excess of her abilities. As was shown during the progress of the war, the energies of New Jersey were directed rather toward the protection of the Hudson and the Delaware Rivers than fortifying her beaches and tide-water streams emptying into the Atlantic. At the beginning of the struggle all movements of a

military character in New Jersey centered around New York Harbor, over which Sandy Hook and the Highlands of Monmouth County held such a commanding position. The elevated country in New Jersey overlooking Raritan Bay was selected as admirably suited for defensive operations, while Sandy Hook and its shoals as natural barriers were considered well nigh impregnable. Of the means designed for the protection of the City of New York the most conspicuous was the series of block-houses. These General Joseph G. Swift, superintending fortifications, deemed adequate to prevent the enemy landing by flotilla. One was constructed near Sandy Hook lighthouse and another at the Highlands of the Navesink. Late in 1812 and early in 1813, a fortification was erected at Sandy Hook light, and cannon were stationed at the lighthouse for the purpose of signaling the approach of the enemy. In the summer of 1813 a blockhouse was erected at Spermaceti Cove, on which were mounted three pieces of heavy ordnance, which did active service in the protection of the coasting trade of the Lower Bay.

A conspicuous object on the Highlands of the Navesink was the telegraph, a simple device of white and black balls or kegs and tall poles. By hoisting and lowering the balls or kegs, in accordance with a code, information of the movements of the enemy could be conveyed to Signal Hill on



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Staten Island and thence to Governor's Island or Brooklyn Navy Yard in fifteen minutes. On Telegraph Hill, by March, 1813, the fort had been completed.

The situation of the city of Philadelphia was quite as exposed as that of New York. While inland, her location made an attack possible from three directions: primarily by a fleet sailing up the Delaware, secondarily by a sudden rush across New Jersey from the seacoast, or by a water and land expedition to the head of Elk and thence through Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. Although the spirit that led Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut to refuse to comply with the demands for militia was abroad in Philadelphia, the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania was hearty in its support of the administration. The Federalists had power in Philadelphia, but the city itself declared unmistakably for the protection of its commerce and the maintenance of national honor. Thus at the outset Philadelphia, "patriotic to the core," prepared for the worst. The effective uniformed militia force of the city, augmented by the volunteer companies, reported for duty, and on occasions of public meetings, led by the Tammany Society, such toasts as "May the Tories in New England repent or be damned," "May the hides of the British garrison at Quebec be speedily tanned in

their own vats," were offered amid thunderous applause.

Such were the subsequent operations of the war that no engagement during the struggle with England took place upon the soil of New Jersey, although within the waters of the State there were several naval affairs of minor importance. Thus in the vicinity of New York City one incident long remembered in story and tradition was the capture of the sloop "Eagle," tender to the British cruiser "Poictiers," which occurred upon the 4th of July, 1813. Under the directions of Commodore Lewis the fishing smack "Yankee" was equipped as if for an expedition to the fishing banks off the Monmouth County shore. Upon her decks were placed some live stock and three men, while in her cabin and forepeak were thirty thoroughly armed militia. Overtaken at once by the "Eagle," the "Yankee" was directed to proceed to the "Poictiers," which lay about five miles distant. Suddenly the "Yankee" was brought alongside the British tender, and in obedience to the watchword "Lawrence" the armed Americans rushed upon the decks of the "Eagle," and with a volley of musketry made an effectual capture. In the *melée* the captain of the "Eagle" and a marine were killed, while two others of the crew were wounded. During the afternoon of Independence Day the captive "Eagle" was brought



*H. M. Cambridge*

(Engraved by G. Parker from a painting by J. W. Jarvis.)



to the Battery, New York, where amid the "shouts and plaudits of thousands of spectators" the prisoners were landed.

In Delaware Bay the situation was far more critical. To enforce a paper blockade, declared by the British government, upon the 26th of December, 1812, there appeared in the middle of March, 1813, a formidable British fleet occupying the wide waters between Capes Henlopen and May. Here came Commodore Beresford with the "Poictiers," Captain Richard Byron with the "Belvidera," and an auxiliary force demanding provisions and water from the inhabitants of the pilot-town of Lewes, Delaware. With cries of "Do Your Worst!" the Delawareans refused to comply, suffering a severe but ineffectual bombardment. Instantly the militia of the State of Delaware and West Jersey were in arms and the bay was in a turmoil, so much resistance being offered that the British fleet sailed away for the Bermudas and the blockade was temporarily raised.

In the early summer of 1813 Philadelphia put herself upon the aggressive. Under skillful command a gunboat squadron left the city for service in the Delaware River, and soon proved its efficiency by its attack upon the British sloop-of-war "Martin," which had gone ashore at Crow's Shoals. In a brilliant charge gunboat "121" was captured by the British, towed outside the Capes,

and was there abandoned. The gunboat drifted ashore at Absecom and was finally cut up by the natives for her iron and brass.

In the meantime the British blockading squadron had returned to its post. Led by that doughty old Frenchman, Stephen Girard, who had become the leading merchant in Philadelphia, there had earlier been blockade running out of the Delaware. But Girard had lost his "Montesquieu" while entering the bay, and the kingly ransom exacted for her discharge deterred others from taking part in adventures to the West Indies. The blockade was complete. British ships-of-war cruised between Capes Charles and Sandy Hook, and except for trifling blockade running by the captains of sloops, shallops, and schooners owned in West Jersey few if any cargoes arrived in Philadelphia by sea or river.

In the vicinity of Cape May there was privateering and blockade running, and in consequence frequent captures. As an instance, in the latter part of 1813, an armed British schooner lying off Cape May gave chase to a number of small coasters bound from Delaware Bay to Egg Harbor, overhauling the "New Jersey," a schooner of May's Landing. Placing its crew in confinement upon their own vessel, the captain of the British schooner left the navigation of the craft to an inexperienced midshipman, who was later com-

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pelled to relinquish the wheel to the captain of the "New Jersey." By a ruse the Americans succeeded in confining their captors below decks and in steering the "New Jersey" to Somers Point, where the prize crew, except the midshipman, found new occupations.

Along Delaware Bay much of the minor naval activities centered in the village of Port Elizabeth, where a trade with the West Indies, the manufacture of glass, development of the woodland in charcoal and tar making, and the prominence of nearby iron forges gave the town an importance throughout the State. Here were stored military supplies in a large store owned by Joshua Brick and Thomas Lee. Upon one eventful night during the war the cry was raised that a marauding party of British were cattle hunting upon the marshes of the Maurice River. The local militia, hastily assembling to repulse an attack, and failing to gain an entrance to the building, so wrenched the key to the front door as to bend the key-post out of shape. This key is still in use. Thus without doing great damage, or securing an entrance upon any highway or minor waterway leading to Philadelphia, the inhabitants of the coast of New Jersey were kept in a constant state of alarm.

The organization and disposal of the militia of New Jersey during the War of 1812 to 1815 is of

interest in showing the ready response made by the State in aiding the defense of Philadelphia and New York, as well as giving in detail the names of those who rendered conspicuous service.

By virtue of his office as governor Joseph Bloomfield was commander-in-chief of the military forces of the State from his accession to office October 26, 1811. Upon the 27th of March of the year 1812 Governor Bloomfield was appointed brigadier-general in the United States army, holding that position until his discharge June 15, 1815. Detailed upon the 8th of June, 1812, to the command of the third military district with headquarters in New York City, he subsequently, with eight thousand men, marched forward to Plattsburg, New York, on a Canadian expedition, the acting governor of New Jersey being Charles Clark, vice-president of Council. As commander of the third military district, which embraced a large portion of New Jersey, Governor Bloomfield upon the 8th of August, 1812, was relieved by Brigadier-General Armstrong, of the United States army.

From October 29, 1812, to October 28, 1813, Aaron Ogden was governor and commander-in-chief, being succeeded by William S. Pennington, who remained governor until after the close of the war. During the war James J. Wilson, John Beatty, and Charles Gordon served as adjutant-



generals, Jonathan Rhea as quartermaster-general, while Thomas T. Kinney, Robert W. Rutherford, and George Holcomb, M.D., were lieutenant-colonels and aides-de-camp upon the staff of Governor Pennington.

At the beginning of the war Paulus Hook was established as a camp of instruction and discipline, while from August 17 until September 25, 1812, a detachment of infantry, New Jersey detailed militia, was stationed at Fort Richmond, Staten Island. Of this detachment Isaac Andruss was major. The detachment contained companies of infantry from Hunterdon County, from Middlesex County, from Sussex County, from Monmouth County, and from Essex County.

The ninety days' men detailed for duty at Paulus Hook, serving from September 17 to November 29, 1812, were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Jackson. There were companies from Morris, Sussex, Bergen, and Essex Counties. So serious did the situation later become that upon November 16, 1812, Governor Aaron Ogden "issued orders for the entire militia of the State to hold itself in readiness for service at only twenty-four hours' notice." In response to this call there was general readiness and zeal to obey, but arms and munitions were sadly deficient.

Stationed at Navesink Highlands in 1813 was a regiment commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel

James Abraham. Ordered out for six months' service, the companies performed two tours of duty, from April 28th to June 30th and from July 1st to September 18th of that year, when the regiment was discharged. Of the companies in the regiment that from Middletown Point, Monmouth County, performed both tours. Monmouth County companies also performed both tours, as did a company from Somerset County. A company of artillery recruited in Middlesex, Monmouth, and Somerset Counties also performed these tours, as did a company of riflemen from Middlesex, Monmouth, and Somerset Counties.

Upon the equipment of the militia an interesting light is thrown by the orders issued by the governor from headquarters at Elizabeth, under date of the 24th of March, 1813:

Every enrolled militiaman is to provide himself with a good musket or fire lock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints, and a knapsack, a pouch to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges suited to the bore of the musket, each cartridge to contain sufficient powder and ball; if a rifleman, with a good rifle, knapsack, shot pouch and powder horn, twenty balls suited to bore of rifle and one-quarter of a pound of powder; or if a dragoon, with a serviceable horse, at least fourteen hands and a half high, a good saddle, mall pillion, and valise, holsters, a breastplate and crupper, a pair of boots and spurs, a pair of pistols, a saber, and a cartouch box to contain cartridges for pistols.

Nor was the protection of the southern coast neglected. At Cape May from May 24 to October 30, 1813, Major William Potter commanded a de-

tachment of militia with companies from Cumberland County, Salem County, and Burlington County, and a company composed of Burlington and Gloucester men.

The fourteenth of July, 1814, brought a call from the governor of New Jersey for five hundred artillery and forty-five hundred infantry. The regimental organization was effected upon August 12, 1814, by detailing a regiment from Bergen and Essex Counties, a regiment from Morris and Sussex Counties and a regiment from Somerset, Middlesex, and Monmouth Counties, these three regiments composing a brigade commanded by Brigadier-General Colfax. The second brigade was composed of a regiment from Hunterdon and Burlington Counties and a regiment from Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, and Cape May, commanded by Brigadier-General Elmer, both brigades being under the general command of Major-General Shinn.

The brigade of General William Colfax was assigned to duty at Paulus Hook and the Monmouth County Highlands. Two companies, one of light infantry, the other of artillery, both recruited in New Brunswick, performed duty, principally at Paulus Hook, from September 5 to December 2. Major Isaac Andruss commanded the detachment of infantry under General Colfax. Major Andruss's men were stationed at Navesink, con-

sisting of companies from Newark, Bloomfield, Orange, Trenton (known as the "Jersey Blues"), and Hunterdon County, this latter company being quartered at Sandy Hook. There was also stationed at the Highlands, as a part of General Colfax's brigade, Colonel John Dodd's regiment of infantry, embracing companies from Bergen County, Essex County, Freehold, Trenton, and Middletown Point. The Second regiment of infantry of General Colfax's brigade was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Steward, and was stationed at Paulus Hook. In this second regiment were Sussex County companies, a Morris County company, an Orange company, Middlesex County companies, and a Piscataway company. The Third regiment of the brigade was also stationed at Paulus Hook, the colonel being John W. Frelinghuysen. From New Brunswick in the Third regiment was a company of horse artillery doing duty as cavalry. From Middlesex and Hunterdon Counties was a company of light dragoons, a company of fusileers from Chatham, a light infantry company from Bloomfield, a company of riflemen from Bottle Hill (Madison), a company of riflemen from Caldwell, an infantry company from Monmouth County, a company of volunteer riflemen from Belvidere, volunteer light infantry from Hackensack, light infantry from New Hampton, Hunterdon County,

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rangers from Morristown, riflemen from Orange, a company of riflemen from Monmouth County, a company of volunteer riflemen from Essex County, a company of volunteer riflemen from Somerset County, a company of rangers from Paterson Landing, a company of riflemen from New Brunswick, companies of infantry from Monmouth County, and a company of infantry from Bergen County.

As a defense for Philadelphia a camp was established at Billingsport, easy of access to the city, and sufficiently near Cape May to offer protection to the Delaware Bay plantations and towns. Here was stationed the brigade under the command of General Ebenezer Elmer, detailed from September 22 to December 22, 1814.

General and ex-Governor Bloomfield, having returned in the summer of 1814 from Sackett's Harbor, New York, was placed in command of the fourth military district with headquarters at Philadelphia, and for the defense of that city it was asked that the two thousand men of General Elmer's brigade be sent to a point near the city. In the meantime a dispute arose between the governor of New Jersey and Daniel D. Tompkins, governor of New York, commandant of the third military district, embracing a large part of New Jersey. Under Colonel John Frelinghuysen the Third Regiment of twelve hundred men was stationed at

Paulus Hook, under orders of August 31, 1814. The people of New Jersey objected to having the governor of New York command their militia, but the federal war department held that by virtue of his office Governor Tompkins commanded all militia raised in the district, called into the service of the United States, irrespective of any State authority. With General Elmer's brigade, at Billingsport, was Lieutenant-Colonel Joshua L. Howell, the companies of whose command did duty along the Delaware River and Bay. Of Lieutenant-Colonel Howell's staff Major Samuel Seagrave, Adjutant Constantine Wilkins, Surgeon Jeremiah J. Foster, Surgeon's Mate Edmond Shepperd, Quartermaster-Sergeant Benjamin Nichols, and Drum Major Joseph Pursil, Jr., were assigned to duty at Cape May and Port Elizabeth, Major Seagrave commanding the detachment. There were companies from Cumberland County, Gloucester County, and Salem County. Two other Gloucester companies were organized, reported for duty, and discharged because of the completion of the detail. A local company did duty at Cape May.

Of General Elmer's brigade a battalion of infantry was commanded by Major Samuel J. Reed. This battalion included companies from Burlington County. At Billingsport, in the month of December, was First Lieutenant Peter Bilderback with a detachment from the First Troop of Horse.

As early as February 12, 1809, Captain Robert Smith's company of artillery was organized and was attached to the Gloucester brigade. Having volunteered for the "protection of the maritime frontier," the company was exempt from detail under the governor's call of August 12, 1814. It was enrolled at Smithville, then old Gloucester (now Atlantic) County, and was stationed at Leeds and Somers Point and other places between Little and Great Egg Harbor Rivers. Called out upon several alarms, the company did a tour of duty in the early summer of 1814, and was always "prepared for actual service on any sudden emergency." The company was mustered out at Smithville, February 19, 1815. Another Gloucester County company of infantry for similar service was organized April 14, 1814, and was enrolled at Somers Point. It performed a tour of duty in the summer of 1814, serving in Gloucester and Cape May Counties, and was discharged at Somers Point, February 12, 1815. On the 2d of April, 1814, a maritime frontier defense company was organized at Butcher's Works (Burrsville), Monmouth (now Ocean) County. The company was composed largely of iron forge and furnace men, employees of Benajah Butcher and Barzillai Burr. With a six-pound fieldpiece and about one hundred stand of arms the Burrsville volunteers did duty between Long Branch and Barnegat, engag-

ing in an affair known as the battle of Brant Hill, where a British man-of-war attempted to destroy and plunder shipping in Shark River. Although a rain of shell poured upon the company the attacking crew of the warship were "obliged to withdraw wholly defeated in their designs." The company was discharged at Burrsville, February 1, 1815.

A company of the Cape May independent militia was called out in May, 1814, for the defense of the seacoast of the county, performing several tours of duty and frequently under arms, and remained in the service until February 17, when it was discharged.

Taking the year 1814, the most important period of the war respecting New Jersey, of the State's militia, numbering about thirty-six thousand, there were on duty from August 13 to December 10 the following officers and men, arranged by classes:

	OFFICERS.	NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.	MEN.
Infantry . . . . .	250	520	3,027
Riflemen . . . . .	32	64	300
Artillery . . . . .	15	34	141
Cavalry . . . . .	7	12	61
Totals . . . . .	<u>304</u>	<u>630</u>	<u>3,529</u>

The longest period of service during that time was three months and twenty-six days, the short-



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est one month and four days. From the State was recruited a large number of men, in 1812, who joined the Fifteenth Regiment U. S. A., but the total number is unknown. During the war many other Jerseymen joined the federal army and navy, but their number is also not a matter of record. From 1812 to 1815 there were in the service of the United States from New Jersey three hundred and ninety-five officers, eight hundred and eight non-commissioned officers, and four thousand eight hundred and eight privates.

Of all the Jerseymen who took part in the struggle one figure looms large. It is that of James Lawrence, of the City of Burlington. Born of distinguished parentage upon the 1st of October, 1781, Lawrence, like that other intrepid New Jersey officer, Richard Somers, of old Gloucester County, early showed a marked predilection for a seafaring career. Securing, before he was seventeen, a midshipman's warrant, James Lawrence obtained a lieutenancy during the war with Tripoli, commanding the schooner "Enterprise." Within a few brief years he plunged with all the ardor of exalted patriotism into the defense of seamen's rights. At the outbreak of the struggle he commanded the "Hornet," and in the early months of 1813, off Demarara, met and sunk the British brig "Peacock." His commodore was Bainbridge, himself a member of a family whose name

is associated with the beginnings of Burlington County.

The drama of James Lawrence's life now draws rapidly to a close. Appointed to the command of the frigate "Chesapeake," Captain Lawrence lay in Boston Harbor upon the night of the 30th of May, 1813. Unprepared as he was, but in response to an unmistakable challenge on the part of the British frigate "Shannon," Lawrence went to his doom. For a little time in the broad waters of Massachusetts Bay the two vessels manœvered in a silence as awful as it was oppressive. Circling ever nearer and nearer, both ships suddenly gave broadside for broadside, bringing disaster and death. Decks were red with blood, smoke obscured the sky, the air reverberated with the crash of timber and the cries of the dying. Amid a scene of the wildest confusion the "Chesapeake" and "Shannon" fouled, rendering the "Chesapeake" helpless and hopeless. Then it was that Lawrence, mortally wounded, was tenderly carried below. Valiant, brave, he cried to his men the immortal words that have rung down the years: "Don't give up the ship!"

Taken by his captors to Halifax, James Lawrence survived but a few days and was buried with the honors of war. In later years his body was removed to Boston and thence to New York.

No more fitting tribute can be paid to this man

of Burlington than that inscribed upon his tomb in Trinity Churchyard, New York City:

His bravery in action was only equalled by his modesty in triumph and his magnanimity to the vanquished. In private life he was a gentleman of the most generous and endearing qualities and so acknowledged was his public worth that the whole nation mourned his loss, and the enemy contended with his countrymen who most should honor his remains. The Hero whose remains are here deposited, with his expiring breath expressed his devotion to his Country. Neither the fury of battle, the anguish of a mortal wound, nor the horrors of approaching death could subdue his gallant spirit.







**N**OT by reason of any brilliant military achievement within the limits of the State, but rather by reason of the material furtherance of ideas concerning transportation, did the

War of 1812 make a permanent impress upon New Jersey. The narrow strip of land separating the head of tidewater in the Delaware from the practical head of tide in the Raritan had long been a hindrance to travel across the State. Until the second war with England the colonial routes between Philadelphia and New York City were still used, being by boat to Burlington or Bordentown, or by stage to New Brunswick or Amboy, and thence by water or stage, via Paulus Hook, to New York City, using the road across Hackensack Meadows as early as 1765 and the turnpike and bridges about 1795. It was not until 1804 that the Trenton-Morrisville bridge was constructed across the Delaware, so insignificant had been the volume of travel by the land route on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River.

The movement of Jersey troops to the defense of the harbors of New York City and Philadelphia, the more or less effectual blockading of the sea-coast by the enemy's ships of war, the needs of inland communication between Washington and New England, the establishment of a base of military supplies at Trenton and Newark, all necessi-

tated speedy communication across the State of New Jersey. The turnpike between Trenton and New Brunswick, chartered in 1804, was used for this purpose, but to the minds of men who saw the possibilities of railroad communication there was yet a new and untried method of transporting freight and passengers. This end would be served by the construction of a railroad over the "waist" of New Jersey.

To New Jersey the treaty of peace brought relief. The signatures placed upon the document at Ghent on the 24th of December, 1814, meant a renewal of industrial activity, for England tacitly abandoned forever her policy of impressment and commercial interference. For the first time since the Revolution the commercial freedom of the United States had been secured. It was indeed a day of hope for a State whose navigable waters were ever whitened with the sails of her ships, and whose highways were crowded with travellers and freight.

Two days before the ratification of the treaty of peace by a federal Senate, voting unanimously, the Legislature of New Jersey, upon the 6th day of February, 1815, passed an act creating a company "to erect a Rail-Road from the river Delaware, near Trenton, to the river Raritan, at or near New Brunswick," and gave to the world



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what was probably the first railroad charter ever granted within the limits of the United States.

The personal influence that lay behind the measure was that of John Stevens, whose experiments with steam navigation on the Hudson gave him not only technical skill, but a wide and comprehensive grasp of the possibilities of any form of rapid transit.

The charter itself, as the basis of subsequent railroad legislation of a special character, possesses a permanent interest. In form the charter is evolutionary, bearing many of the characteristics of contemporaneous acts, similar in form, and from which turnpike companies derived their powers. Thus at the very outset a commission was created authorized to receive subscriptions. For the construction of the railroad, "not more than four rods wide," the three commissioners, James Ewing, Pearson Hunt, and Abner Reeder, were required to give security to the governor to insure to the treasurer of the company the payment of all subscriptions received by them.

The subscriptions were limited to five thousand shares at one hundred dollars per share, five dollars to be paid in at time of subscribing. As soon as two thousand shares were subscribed the commissioners or a majority of them were directed to call a meeting of the subscribers to choose a president and eight directors, "five of whom shall con-

stitute a board and a treasurer." This temporary organization was to give place on the first Wednesday in November then next ensuing to a stockholders' election, which should afterward be held each and every year. "The said president and directors so to be chosen shall be called the New Jersey Railroad Company," says the act, with all corporate powers to be in full force and effect for fifty years.

In case the corporation did not carry into effect the objects of its charter within ten years, or allowed its works to go to decay for two years, then the charter became null and void.

All elections were required to be by ballot, in person or by proxy, at the rate of one vote for every share not exceeding twenty, and one vote for every five shares between twenty and fifty, and one vote for every ten shares above fifty. Temporary vacancies in the board of directors were to be filled by the remainder of the board. The president and directors were empowered to fix the time and place of meeting, appoint necessary agents and servants, make by-laws and ordinances and fill vacancies of an official nature.

To lay out the road the Legislature fell back upon the expedient of a further commission consisting of John Rutherford, Mahlon Dickerson, and Richard Allison, who in the discharge of their duty were to have "due regard to the situation

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and nature of the ground and the buildings thereon, the public convenience and the interest of the stockholders and so as to do the least damage to private property." The road could not be laid out through any burying ground, place of public worship, dwelling house nor outbuilding of the value of three hundred dollars without the owner's consent. The commissioners were required to file their report, survey map and plot in the office of the secretary of state of New Jersey. The commissioners and corporation were granted the right to enter upon land necessary for laying out the road and also for the purpose of searching for "stone, sand, or gravel for the use of the said road," but no stone, sand, or gravel was to be taken away without compensation made to the owner.

As to the character of motive power to be used upon the railroad the statute is silent, the only allusion being collateral, where it is enacted that the wagons or carriages employed on the road shall be constructed and run thereon in conformity to such rules as the company shall make from time to time.

That animals, either horses or mules, were to be employed is suggested by the provision of the act empowering the corporation to "make, erect, and establish a railroad, passing and repassing, and which road is to be composed of either iron or

wood for the running of the wheels, and which running part is to be fixed on a solid foundation, impervious to frost, not liable easily to be removed." It was further provided that the middle path of said road was to be composed of some hard substance, of either stone, gravel or wood, so as to be good at all seasons of the year. The plan of a "middle path," and the further proviso that in no part of its progress should the road rise above an angle of two degrees above the plane of the horizon, would not directly indicate the employment of steam as an agency of transportation.

Further in the matter of construction the act provided that the company should not obstruct the free use and passage of any public road. Causeways were directed to be constructed by the railroad over all public roads, under a penalty of ten dollars for every day of neglect. The company was also required to furnish private causeways for the use of owners of land. Any injury to company property rendered the tortfeasor liable to forfeit to the company three times the actual damage sustained.

In the exercise of the right of domain the company was authorized to "erect, make, and establish all works, edifices, and devices" as might be necessary, as well as purchase lands and tene-

ments. In case of non-agreement between the corporation and an owner as to the valuation of private land necessary for the corporation's purposes, the statute provided that each should choose a disinterested freeholder. The two were empowered to determine compensation, but in case they failed they could choose an umpire. In case this method was not employed, a struck jury, after survey and estimation, made inquisition and returned the same to a justice of the Supreme Court.

In the statute is to be found the germ of the present State railroad commissions. It was enacted that whenever the railroad company completed not less than ten miles of its road the governor of the State should appoint three disinterested persons who "shall have power to fix, ascertain and determine the rates and charges which the said company may demand and receive for the transportation of merchandise and for every article of country produce, lumber, and fire wood transported on the said railroad, and also to fix, ascertain and determine on such tolls and rates as the said company shall and may demand and receive from all persons using or traveling said road." The rates of toll were directed to be placed on file as evidence in any court. If within ten years after the completion of the railroad the corporation should consider a revision necessary the

governor was directed to appoint a new commission for that purpose.

Ten years after the completion of the road, and at the end of every ten years thereafter, the company was directed to lay before the Legislature a statement as to its financial condition. At such time the governor was to appoint a new commission of three to revise the freight and passenger rates, but it was provided that the commissioners should not reduce the tolls to a less sum than would insure to the company twelve per cent. per annum on its capital stock.

This first effort to construct a railroad across the State of New Jersey reached no further development than the passage of the act. The time was not yet ripe for so chimerical a project; more than another decade must elapse ere the public mind was ready to fully appreciate the benefits that lay within so great a plan of improvement. But the charter remains as the crystallization of the best thought upon the subject of what was proper legislative control over a railroad, what rights the corporation should have, and, in brief, what constituted so novel a scheme for transporting men and their goods between two centers of population.







**T**HE closing of the eighteenth and the opening of the nineteenth centuries marked the beginning of steam navigation in the United States, and for a quarter of a century New Jersey was destined to play a conspicuous part in the efforts made by inventors to overcome the difficulties of water navigation.

To John Fitch, a wandering Connecticut mechanic, and James Rumsey, who had experimented at Shepardstown, a hamlet of Virginia, may be given equal credit for their efforts to introduce into the United States steam as a method of vessel propulsion. Both were inventors of note; both had instituted their experiments at practically the same time, 1785-87; both had been called visionaries; both had won the friendships of men of influence.

It was in the village of Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, on the edge of Philadelphia, where but a few years before a part of Washington's army had been encamped, that John Fitch built a model of his paddle-wheel boat, which, having been tried on the waters of an inland stream, was submitted to the inspection of President Ewing, of the University of Pennsylvania. Fitch, upon the advice of Ewing, sought the aid of Congress through the agencies of William Churchill Houston, and Lambert Cadwalader, both Jersey men of influence, but

to no avail. Rejected by Congress as the dream of a "hare-brained mechanic" Fitch then endeavored to interest Don Diego Gardoqui, the Spanish minister, who declined to bestir himself in the project "unless all the profits and a monopoly of the invention went to his master, the King of Spain." To this proposition, upon patriotic grounds, Fitch, poor and disgusted, refused his consent.

In 1786 John Fitch turned for aid to the State of New Jersey, where the utilization of natural waterways and the possibilities of canals had already attracted attention. Securing from the State on March 18, 1786, a right to navigate the streams of New Jersey during a period of fourteen years, Fitch and his associate, Voight, placed upon the waters of the Delaware an imperfect but generally satisfactory steamboat that moved at the rate of seven miles per hour. This boat had been completed during the summer of 1786, while funds, partially sufficient to carry out the project, had been contributed by citizens of Philadelphia.

During the winter of 1786-87 Fitch and Voight rearranged the details of the machinery, which was installed in a boat forty-five feet long, and upon the 22d of August, 1787, occurred the first successful trial of a steamboat in the waters of the Delaware River. Upon the Pennsylvania and

New Jersey shores enthusiastic, cheering multitudes greeted the craft. There were present members of the federal convention, who cheerfully gave Fitch certificates "setting forth the merits of the strange experiment they had seen," and to these certificates were attached the names of such men as Governor Randolph, of Virginia; Dr. Johnson, of Connecticut; and David Rittenhouse, the astronomer. The fame of Fitch and of his invention spread throughout America.

Scarce a year had passed before a new steamboat appeared upon the Delaware River. The 12th of July, 1788, marked the trip of this "wonder worker," with its tubular boiler and its three paddles on the stern. Welcomed by admiring throngs, the steamboat churned its way between Burlington and Philadelphia, saluted by a discharge of cannon at Dunk's Ferry and shouts from the crowd gathered along Green Bank and the wharves of Burlington City. But as the steamboat was about thirty perches from the point of landing at Burlington a boiler pipe burst, and the boat, abandoned by those who had promoted the project, drifted toward Philadelphia. Some after this accident withdrew, terrified, from the company, while others, having supplied funds for repairs, sustained the boat in her trips between the old capital of West Jersey and Philadelphia. Stock was issued to the amount of four hundred

pounds, and with improved machinery a trial trip was projected. Owing to a severe storm the experiment was delayed, in the meantime the boat taking fire and sinking. Repairs being made, a test in December, 1789, showed the boat capable of running a mile in seven and a half minutes.

From June to September, 1790, the steamboat ran as a packet from Philadelphia, making the trip to Trenton upon one day and returning the next, with Sunday trips to Chester. During the autumn a second steamboat was partially completed by the Philadelphia promoters, when a storm tore the vessel from its moorings, and, cast ashore upon Petty's Island, she lay bleaching, a fitting companion to the wreck of the Revolutionary frigate "Alliance." In 1795 the machinery of the steamboat was sold at auction, and Fitch, having transferred his plan of operations, in 1796, "exhibited a small steamboat on the waters of the Collect Pond," on the site of the present City Hall Park of New York. Except for the attempts of Oliver Evans to drive his "Oruktor Amphibolos" in and around Philadelphia, the part New Jersey played in the development of the steamboat is shifted from the waters of the Delaware to those of the Hudson.

Stimulated by the progress of the pioneers, Robert Fulton, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, miniature painter, mechanic, and machinist, had been ex-

perimenting in France with diving boats, marine torpedoes, and steamboats. There, in the earliest years of the century, he met Robert R. Livingston, minister of the United States to France, who, by reason of experiments on the Hudson, had secured in 1798, under certain conditions, the right of steam navigation of the waters of New York State. Livingston had failed to perform the requirements imposed upon him, but so great was his influence that in 1803 he secured for himself and Fulton a similar monopoly provided they should, "within two years, by means of steam, move a twenty-ton boat four miles an hour against the current of the Hudson River." With headquarters on the Seine, Fulton and Livingston experimented and met with success upon a trial trip of their steamboat in spite of indifference expressed by French scientists. An English engine was forwarded to the United States, and while Fulton remained in London for two years trying to sell torpedoes to the war office it lay on a New York dock, held for freight. The arrival of Fulton stirred Livingston to action, and immediate preparations were made for further experimentation. The monopoly legislation, which had expired by limitation, was revived, and in 1807 there was launched the "Clermont," a steamboat one hundred and thirty feet in length, with fifteen-foot wheels, largely undecked, with boiler and engine set in masonry.

Yet with all her errors of construction, and she later sank at her dock, the "Clermont" ran one hundred and fifty miles from New York to Albany in thirty-two hours, and established for her owners "the sole right to use steam on the lakes and rivers of New York State for twenty years to come." Subsequent rebuilding altered the "Clermont" until in appearance and comfort she rivaled the finest packet boats.

With the launching of the "Clermont" a direct blow was struck at the State of New Jersey, New York contending that her boundary extended to low watermark on the west side of the Hudson River. In consequence John Cox Stevens, of Hoboken, who had for some years experimented with steam, was practically estopped from any benefits which might arise from the use of his "Phœnix," launched in 1806. He thereupon in 1809 sent his vessel to Philadelphia, where, with a steam vessel called the "Raritan," the latter plying between New Brunswick and New York, the former between Philadelphia and Bordentown, a route was opened across New Jersey, assisted by the stage line from Bordentown to New Brunswick. The hands of Livingston and Fulton were now laid upon the profits of the New Jersey boats. Violent was the protest made against such an outrage, and in consequence a commercial war between New York and New Jersey broke out.

As during the period of the confederation New York had attempted to tax the boats of New Jersey farmers, and the Legislature of the latter State had retaliated by taxing Sandy Hook lighthouse, then owned by New York City, so in 1810 it was proposed that if New York would not permit a New Jersey steamboat to ply the Hudson then no Livingston-Fulton monopoly steamer should enter the jurisdiction of New Jersey. This demand was modified by the New Jersey Legislature, which passed an act in 1811 providing that as in 1808 New York had enacted that the boat, engine, tackle, and apparel of all unlicensed vessels could be seized upon the same principle, the owners might "seize any boat belonging to any citizen of New York found in the waters of New Jersey." To this the New Yorkers replied that they would grant no more licenses to run steamboats to New Jersey, would destroy the ferry at Paulus Hook, and eradicate New Brunswick. But the steamboat industry on the Hudson River, in spite of the fulminations of the New Jersey Legislature, remained in the grip of the New York monopoly. With injunctions, and by the power of their influence, Livingston and Fulton broke down opposition wherever started.

Again the scene shifts to Philadelphia. Here Stevens endeavored to interest capital in a steamboat line to Baltimore, with three boats—two on

Chesapeake Bay and one on the Delaware. But the plan failed at the time, and before the second war with England was well begun two steam ferryboats were in daily use in the waters of New Jersey. One, controlled by Livingston and Fulton, ran from Paulus Hook to New York City, the other between Philadelphia and the Cooper's ferries, now Camden City.

The two ferryboats plying between Paulus Hook and New York City were known as the "Jersey" and "York," and were similar to a modern catamaran. Two planked hulls, eighty feet long and ten feet apart, were joined together, the space between the hulls being occupied by the paddle wheel. The necessary machinery left only ten feet on either side the boat for the accommodation of passengers, animals, and freight.

On the Delaware there were, during the War of 1812, several steamboats: the "Camden" and the "Phoenix," running to Trenton; the "Bristol" and "Eagle" to Burlington; and the "New Jersey" to White Hill, with the southern terminus at Philadelphia. The "Philadelphia" supplanted the "Phoenix" in 1813.

In 1813 Governor Ogden, of New Jersey, established a rival ferry between Elizabethtown Point and New York, and operated a boat called the "Seahorse," which was remarkable for her speed. Plunged into litigation by the prompt attack



made by Fulton and Livingston, Governor Ogden was compelled to assume the defensive, although on November 3, 1813, the Legislature of New Jersey had conferred exclusive privileges upon himself and Daniel Dod. Ogden in the meantime had purchased from Gideon Hill Wells, of Trenton, administrator of John Fitch, all of Fitch's rights secured under the act of 1786. Against Ogden and Dod was pitted Thomas Gibbons, a Southern lawyer of wealth, who had also engaged in a steamboat venture between Elizabethtown and New York, one of Gibbons's captains being Commodore Vanderbilt.

Upon the shoulders of Governor Ogden the burden of litigation fell. In 1815 the Ogden-Dod monopoly was repealed in spite of the efforts of Samuel L. Southard and Francis Hopkinson, counsel for the beneficiaries. Governor Ogden having made terms with Fulton and Livingston, Gibbons, by a decision rendered in the Court of Appeals of the State of New York, was sustained in his attempt to destroy the Ogden-Dod monopoly. But the matter being carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, it was held that as Gibbons's boat was licensed to carry on the coasting trade under federal regulations he had a right to go from one State to another in spite of the provisions of any State law. It was in this argument that Daniel Webster used the famous expression: "the

commerce of the United States is a unit," and this decision being reached, the steamboat monopoly fell forever, wrecking not only Governor Ogden's fortune, but his life.





**F**OLLOWING the close of the second war with England, and indeed to a limited extent during the progress of the struggle, men of affairs had foreseen the possibilities of New Jersey as a vast manufacturing community. Peace, it was said, had brought prosperity; New Jersey had benefited by the war in that not less than two million dollars had been circulated in the State in payment for transportation of goods between great commercial centers, while abundance of water power, with natural mill sites, could be nothing less than attractive to investors. Furthermore the tariff of 1816 was in itself a blessing, to the kindly influences whereof New Jersey would quickly respond.

Scarce had the industrial skies brightened ere they were overcast, and all the prosperity hoped for became darkened and lost to view. England, with the perpetual peace established at Waterloo, had withdrawn hosts of men from her standing army, who added themselves to the well filled ranks of labor, with the result of dragging down wages and cheapening the cost of manufactured goods. The English capitalists, quick to take advantage of such conditions, and realizing that their home market was already overstocked, sent ship load after ship load of these cheap but tempting fabrics to America, and, as

Professor John Bach McMaster ingeniously points out, having eluded by unlawful devices the operation of the tariff, "hurried his packages to the auction block," securing instant sale at no expense. Auction rooms in which every scheme and trick known to the unscrupulous was put in practice were filled with English goods. In New York City in 1816 there were twenty-nine licensed auctioneers, whose sales amounted each year to thirteen million dollars. Every day the Paulus Hook and other ferries running to New York were crowded with prospective buyers, who spent money in acquiring fabrics that they neither wanted nor could use.

To the State Legislatures, to Congress, came the petitions of manufacturers, who saw ruin and desolation spread into every industry. With the advent of the winter of 1817 the condition of the working classes became truly pitiable. In the New England manufacturing centers, in New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburg, there was intense distress. Among the glass blowers in the southern portion of the State, among the mill operatives in Newark and its vicinity, among those working in the forges and bloomeries, even along the New Jersey coast, where vessels were rotting at the wharves for want of cargoes, the "hard times" balefully spread.

Then with the general lack of supervision over

the methods employed by officers of State banks came failures and the inability of these institutions to sustain specie payments. The relation of the banks to industrial prostration was cleverly summed up by a correspondent of a Connecticut newspaper who asked the question: "Why is the community so much embarrassed?" and then gave this answer:

*Because banks lend money that they have not got to lend,  
And because people spend money they have not got to spend.*

The "remedy" suggested was equally pertinent:

*Own the money before you lend it!  
Earn the money before you spend it!*

As illustrative of the impoverished condition of the municipality in which the Trenton Banking Company was established is the fact that it frequently loaned the city money with which to pay its solitary watchman.

The effects of the panic of 1817 were less lasting and less detrimental than the results of the panics of 1837 and of 1857. Beyond doubt the immediate physical suffering among the masses was equally as great, if not greater, than during the termination of the subsequent cycles, although it must be remembered that subsequent divisions of labor had not created a purely artisan class, dependent almost entirely upon others for the necessaries of life. The lines between the farm

and the town had not been as sharply drawn, even as they were in 1837, and few there were either among skilled or unskilled labor in New Jersey who had not at least an elementary knowledge of farming. Those who worked in the mills could quickly shift their course and turn to the farm, securing at the worst sufficient employment to obtain a bit of food, a suit of old clothes, and a cabin or abandoned tenant house until the evil days be overpassed. Such indeed was the condition of affairs throughout the State when the years 1818 and 1819 brought a promise, and then a fulfillment of that promise, concerning the advent of "better times."

The close of the "hard times" of 1817 marks the termination of the most conspicuous outward manifestations and signs of the colonial period. Here and there were to be found survivors of the Revolution, although the youngest of them had attained a half century of life. Occasionally an elderly gentleman wore a cue and knee breeches of silk; some still kept store books in "York currency," and took a "pinch" from gold snuffboxes mounted with jewels. But the habits of men, their aims, desires, subjects of conversation, their manners, indeed, had undergone radical change. In the taverns when the stage coaches stopped the talk of the hour was no longer concerning our diplomatic relations with England, but of internal



improvements. Travellers of education in the coach speculated as to the possibilities of cotton manufacture in Paterson, as to a plan to harness the water power of the Delaware, as to whether Jersey City would grow beyond the limits of Paulus Hook, and if, after all, a canal could be built from the Delaware to the Raritan, and who could secure that vast sum, one million dollars, necessary to complete so stupendous an undertaking. Others actually prophesied that the iron ore of the northern central portion of the State would supplant the "bog" furnaces of the "Pines," while the adventurous spirits who thought that a day might come when a steamship like the "Savannah" would cross the seas burning anthracite coal from Pennsylvania had a respectful, although skeptical, auditory. There were bold men in those days, men who actually believed the Stevens railroad scheme could be made practical, and that the "movable steam engines" would fly across New Jersey in spite of physical obstructions, not to mention adverse prejudices, at the astonishing rate of twenty miles an hour.

On the farms there were those who looked forward to the use of machinery designed to relieve the strain and stress imposed upon manual labor, but these dreamers talked in whispers for fear of knowing looks and ominous shakes of the head by those who heard such wild theories advanced.

The growing towns had their progressive inhabitants, men who were certain that Newark and Elizabethtown and Trenton would be brilliant at night with gas jets, and were confident that when the pipes were laid beneath the soil an explosion as sudden as it would be disastrous would not take place. They saw the future extension of the public water supply system, urged that mud holes in the public thoroughfares be filled, demanded the laying of curbs and crossings, and even advocated the organization of an equipped force of "watchmen by day and night," who would not sleep on door steps, and who would patrol their "beats" instead of drinking liquor and playing cards in public houses.

It can not be said that all this agitation secured immediate results, and that the reforms desired were speedily accomplished. Looking out from the narrow confines of colonial habits of thought, men saw dimly what the future had in store; it was the period that prepared men for the era of unrest, which, during the political domination of Andrew Jackson and all that he represented, meant not only sudden changes in thought, but equally sudden changes in action.

Hence to the end color goes out of men's lives. With the supremacy of steam and coal and iron, with municipal progress and readjustment of political conditions, there is much of the prosaic

and the commonplace injected into the daily doings of people. The distinctive characteristics of the governing class merge into the characteristics of the mass. Industrialism brought comforts and luxuries to the dead level of humanity, destroyed permanent caste, and in robbing class of its picturesqueness raised the mass, gradually but none the less surely, toward newer and broader hopes and aspirations.

In a State as conservative as New Jersey the changes thus effected, while not bold, were none the less noticeable. A distinctively industrial type of life could not supplant ancient custom and modes of living without creating protest. Naturally manufactures and the congestion of population in the larger centers met with opposition. Upon the quiet farms, inherited through many generations, men railed at the uselessness of mills and factories. These, they said, will only create an aristocracy of wealth, and bring an undesirable emigration to the State. Our sons, it was argued, will go to the towns, and, neglecting the farms, who will then till the soil? Such a life with its worries, its alternate successes and failures, will ruin the spirit of true Americans, and turn the nation into the home of a race of speculators. These, at least, were the arguments advanced by well meaning if not far sighted men, who laboriously penned their screeds for the

weekly newspapers. And what, said one, as if the argument was final, is the life of a town, with its dissipations, its glamour, its indifference to personal likes and dislikes? Out upon the mills, and the towns where they are built, where there is neither pure air, the comforts of a well stocked kitchen, or morality!

Scarcely less objectionable was the prospect of a railroad. Against such an abomination the batteries of ridicule, contempt, and even hatred were turned. The engines could not eat hay and were of no value to the farmer; the noise of trains would disturb the animals grazing in the fields; sparks would destroy barns; the tracks would be unsafe, the cars would run away and kill the passengers; the people who travelled were Godless denizens from afar, who brought neither money nor reputation on their journey; and, worse than all, what would become of the turnpike companies and the stage coach lines?

The beginning of the end had come. "The spinning-wheel and the flax carding machines were soon to be silenced forever," says a modern writer; "the rumbling carts to give place to wagons built by men experienced in the trade. No longer the farmer made his own hoes and shovels or had his negro men work in leather. His produce, consumed upon his own farm, or in the nearby market town, was, ere long, to be carted to the cities,

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first by wagons over the new-made 'pikes, and then by the railroads or steamboats. The young men were becoming restless and looked out upon a horizon wider than the limits of the plantation. The simple domestic existence no longer satisfied the daughters who strove for a higher plane of intellectual development and wished for the costumes and something of the gayer life at the towns. Such alterations in the static life of a vast farming community, the desire for a change, is an important element in the economic history of a State, and can not be dismissed as a trifle unworthy of consideration. These ambitions necessitated the expenditure of money, increased travel, and brought to minds, unaccustomed to vigorous thinking, new impressions."









**W**ITH the advent to the presidency of Thomas Jefferson there came to the executive chair one whose destiny it was to mould into living form those floating, half-vague ideas and theories that, by means of the press and emigration, had reached America as the outcome of the French Revolution. As a philosophical statesman he was, says John T. Morse, Jr., the editor of the "American Statesmen," in his "Introduction" to "Thomas Jefferson," "a man of broad views, powerful and original intellect, and by his nature sincerely in sympathy with the most advanced political doctrines of the age." But he was more than this; he was a skillful, far-seeing politician, one who, having organized his party and led it to victory, could hold it in the hollow of his hand, and, unlike his rival, Hamilton, could exact from his followers an allegiance as blind as it was unquestioning.

The personal popularity of Jefferson, his denunciation of the centralizing tendency of Federalism, his "peace by isolation" theory, his democratizing of the lines of government, have marked his administration as an interesting rather than a great epoch in American history. It was the time of the play of social forces, it was a period of unrest, the natural outgrowth of conditions over which neither party leaders nor political in-

stitutions had control. It was a new parting of the roads, a new casting away of part of the colonial garment, a new embarking upon the sea of social conditions. The retention of the Federalists in power would have delayed but not stopped the movement—it would have rested but a little while ere reforms would have been instituted which would have left an impress forever upon the social life of America.

Yet Jefferson was quite as much an aristocrat as he was a man whose sympathies went out to the people. While he believed the great heart of the masses beat true he also believed that the people should always select for places of power men like himself, who to natural ability should also add that aptitude for administering the government which might be supposed to spring from a broad education in historical and political directions, and a career of steadily widening experience in public affairs. “If he found them using their creative power in order to elevate men of not more than ordinary intellectual calibre, and of little artificially acquired aptness, he would have indignantly rebuked them for betraying just expectations.” And such were the views of James Madison, James Monroe, George Clinton, De Witt Clinton, Daniel D. Tompkins, Albert Gallatin, John Quincy Adams, and John Randolph.

In New Jersey the doctrines promulgated by

Jefferson had gained ground, but not sufficient to affect the electoral votes of the State, which were cast in 1800 for John Adams, of Massachusetts, as President, and Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, as Vice-President, the Federalist candidates. But when the electoral votes were counted it was found that Jefferson had seventy-three, Burr seventy-three, Adams sixty-five, Pinckney sixty-four, and Jay one. There being no choice, it was then that the memorable contest in the Federalistic House of Representatives occurred, which lasted from February 11 to the 17th of that month. On the first ballot the vote of New Jersey was divided, three of the members voting for Jefferson and two for Burr. At last a compromise was effected, ten States voting for Jefferson, among which was New Jersey, four for Burr, and two blank. And for the first time a native of New Jersey sat in the vice-presidential chair.

In New Jersey the Federalists had retained control of the Legislature, although losing their members of Congress. In consequence whereof the name of Richard Howell, at the joint meeting of the Legislature held upon October 30, 1800, met with no opposition.

But in the year 1801 the political situation had materially altered, the leadership of the Jeffersonians, or as generally called the Republicans, being in the hands of Joseph Bloomfield, who for his

attitude taken at a Republican meeting at Slabtown—near Mount Holly—was called the “Slabtown Governor.” This epithet had been hurled at him by the Federalists because he had been charged with deserting their party. This charge was based simply upon a declaration made by Governor Bloomfield as one of the committee of the New Jersey Society of the Cincinnati, when, in view of a possible French war, the society reported an address to President John Adams expressing its “entire satisfaction with his administration of government.” But Governor Bloomfield had done no more than many another leader throughout the United States was doing—forsaken a party whose disregard of popular rights, whose corruption and general inability to cope with proper measures, had brought it into disrepute. Into the new party were coming young men of note. William S. Pennington, afterward governor, and his brother Samuel; Andrew Kirkpatrick, chief justice of New Jersey; Mahlon Dickerson, at one time editorial writer for Duane’s *Aurora*, the great Philadelphia exponent of Republicanism; later Governor Peter D. Vroom, who while young took little part in politics, but afterward became so earnest a supporter of Andrew Jackson; and William Rossell, the leader of the party in West Jersey, were but a few who afterward became conspicuous. Of the avowed Federalists there were

Aaron Ogden; Associate Justice Isaac Smith, then an elderly man; William Griffith, one of President Adams's "midnight judges," whose Federalistic proclivities did not forbid him to write "Eumenes," a plea for constitutional reform, and Associate Justice John Moore White.

The gubernatorial election held upon October 31, 1801, brought two candidates into the field: the Republican or administration leader, Joseph Bloomfield, and Richard Stockton, the candidate of the Federalists. For Governor Bloomfield Essex, Monmouth, Salem, Hunterdon, Cumberland, Morris, and Sussex Counties voted solidly, with one member each from the Counties of Gloucester and Cape May. The counties voting for Richard Stockton were Bergen, Middlesex, Somerset, and Burlington, the remaining portion of the Gloucester house delegation, and the member of Council from Cape May. The vote was thirty to twenty.

Again, upon the 28th of October, 1802, Governor Bloomfield and Richard Stockton had a contest for the position of governor, a political fight of great bitterness, which resulted in a tie vote of twenty-six to twenty-six. Governor Bloomfield had solid delegations from the Counties of Essex, Monmouth, Salem, Morris, Sussex, and Cumberland, with a member of the house and the member of Council from Hunterdon County. Richard Stockton's vote was cast by the delegations from Ber-

gen, Middlesex, Somerset, Burlington, Gloucester, and Cape May, with three of the four house members from Hunterdon County. Upon November 25 an attempt was made by Stockton's friends to secure control of the Legislature by the substitution of the name of Aaron Ogden. The result remaining unchanged, after an ineffectual ballot, John Lambert, by virtue of his constitutional powers as vice-president of Council, became acting governor until October 27, 1803.

Upon the 27th of October, 1803, the Legislature again balloted for governor, the candidates still being Joseph Bloomfield and Richard Stockton. In the contest Richard Stockton was defeated by a vote of thirty-three to seventeen, Stockton being unable to control votes other than those of solid delegations from the Counties of Middlesex, Somerset, Burlington, Cape May, and Bergen. In the following year, on October 25, 1804, Bloomfield and Stockton were again candidates, the vote being thirty-seven to sixteen in favor of Bloomfield. In 1804 Stockton held the counties voting for him in 1803 except Somerset, which gave him but one vote, that of a member of the house delegation.

In the year 1804, upon the 11th of July, an event occurred in New Jersey which profoundly stirred the country, and which brought upon the head of Aaron Burr a full measure of opprobrium. It was

his duel with Alexander Hamilton upon the famous ground at Weehawken. Whatever may have been the merits or demerits of the quarrel between Burr and Hamilton, involving a range of political and social relations, no one can deny that the bullet from Burr's pistol brought death not only to the leader of a great party, but to the party as well. Although Federalism for five years had been declining, the party had possessed sufficient vitality in New Jersey to tie the State in 1802, and to make a respectable showing at each session of the Legislature. So long as its acknowledged head was alive it could gasp for breath. But after that fateful day Federalism in the nation gave way to the new order.

To the people of the State the name of Hamilton was endeared quite as much by his active interest in the stimulation of local manufactures as by his political leadership. He had been the friend of William Livingston and Washington; he had been active in the establishment of the "Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures"; he had watched over the beginnings of the "proprietors," later the "associators," of the Paulus Hook project, from which grew Jersey City. He had encouraged Fitch and Stevens in their steamboat experiments; he was known as the friend of those who dreamed of a canal uniting the waters of the Raritan with those of the Delaware; he had

stood for political conservatism, such as the constitution of the State itself represented.

Nor was the interest of New Jersey in Burr less great, except that it was raised upon the less firm basis of political rather than economic and social considerations. The Vice-President had been born in Newark, his father had been president of the College of New Jersey, he had fought in the Revolution upon the soil of this State, and as a member of the New York bar had been brought into association with New Jersey's judges and practitioners of law. He had, moreover, been closely in touch with those Jerseymen who were but recently instrumental in bringing the commonwealth into an active support of the policies of Thomas Jefferson. But in spite of this, in spite of his nervous, dominant leadership, Burr lacked, even in his native State, that power to hold men close to him, although he well enough knew how to attract them. Even his most enthusiastic supporters stood aghast at the results of the duel, and defended their leader as best they could from the storm of execration and abuse that swept down upon him—the storm that ever lowered and followed him years after from his little home on Staten Island, a broken, world-worn man, to a grave by his father's side in Princeton.

From 1805 to 1809 Governor Bloomfield was unopposed. The elections were held upon October



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25, 1805, October 31, 1806, October 30, 1807, and October 31, 1808.

Indeed such was the case until the year 1812, except that upon the 27th of October, 1809, the names of William S. Pennington, William Rossell, and Aaron Ogden were presented only to be withdrawn. A like course was adopted upon October 26, 1810, when Pennington and Rossell again appeared, while upon the 26th of October, 1811, Pennington and Ogden were mentioned to be withdrawn.

In the year 1812, owing to the Federalists' policy concerning the war, and their adroit gerrymander, the party was galvanized into activity, so successfully, in fact, that its candidate, Aaron Ogden, at the joint meeting held upon October 29, 1812, was elected governor by a vote of thirty to twenty-two. His defeated competitor was William S. Pennington. The vote in this year, reflecting directly the strength of the Federalists, shows that the anti-war sentiment was unevenly distributed throughout the State. The county delegations in the house and Council voting solidly for Ogden were Bergen, Middlesex, Monmouth, Somerset, Burlington, Gloucester, Cape May, and three out of four of the Hunterdon members of the house. For William S. Pennington Essex, Salem, Sussex, Morris, and Cumberland Counties and the

members of Council for Hunterdon County cast their votes.

But the gubernatorial election held upon October 29, 1813, reversed the situation and threw New Jersey into the Republican column. The Federalists had grown unpopular; and although Aaron Ogden, contesting as his own successor, held in control the counties voting for him in 1812, he nevertheless lost Hunterdon and Monmouth, and was defeated by William S. Pennington, the vote standing thirty to twenty. This contest between Ogden and Pennington was renewed upon October 23, 1814, with no different result from that of 1813, the various county delegations remaining faithful to their political leaders, the vote standing twenty-nine to twenty-three.

Succeeding William S. Pennington came Mahlon Dickerson, who was probably unopposed in two elections held October 26, 1815, and October 28, 1816.

On the 1st of February, 1817, Mahlon Dickerson, in view of his acceptance of the office of United States senator from the State of New Jersey, resigned his office as governor. At a joint meeting held upon February 6, 1817, three candidates were placed in nomination: Isaac H. Williamson, Joseph McIlvaine, and Samuel L. Southard. Williamson on the first ballot received twenty-six votes, the solid delegations of Bergen,



WILLIAM DICKERSON

*W. Dickerson*



Essex, Middlesex, Somerset, and Sussex Counties, with the member of Council and one member of the house from Morris, two members of the house from Hunterdon, and one member of the house from Gloucester. McIlvaine had twenty-one votes—solid delegations from Monmouth, Burlington, Salem, Cape May, and Cumberland Counties, and two members of the house and member of Council from Gloucester. Southard had six votes—a member of Council and two members of the house from Hunterdon County and three members of the house from Morris County.

A second vote being taken, three of Southard's supporters voted for Williamson and one for McIlvaine. The final vote stood Williamson twenty-nine, McIlvaine twenty-two, Southard two.

It will be noticed in this contest that party lines gave place to choice made upon geographical divisions; that North Jersey, almost as a unit, supported Williamson and Southard, while South Jersey advocated McIlvaine.

With the year 1817 the country entered upon an "era of good feeling," when party politics were eschewed, and when the State leaders to a large degree lost or seemed to lose their interest. For twelve years, or from November 1, 1817, to October 30, 1829, Isaac H. Williamson, unopposed, occupied the executive chair. The several dates of his joint meeting reëlections were October 30,

1818, October 29, 1819, October 27, 1820, October 25, 1821, October 25, 1822, October 31, 1823, October 29, 1824, October 28, 1825, October 27, 1826, October 26, 1827, and October 31, 1828.

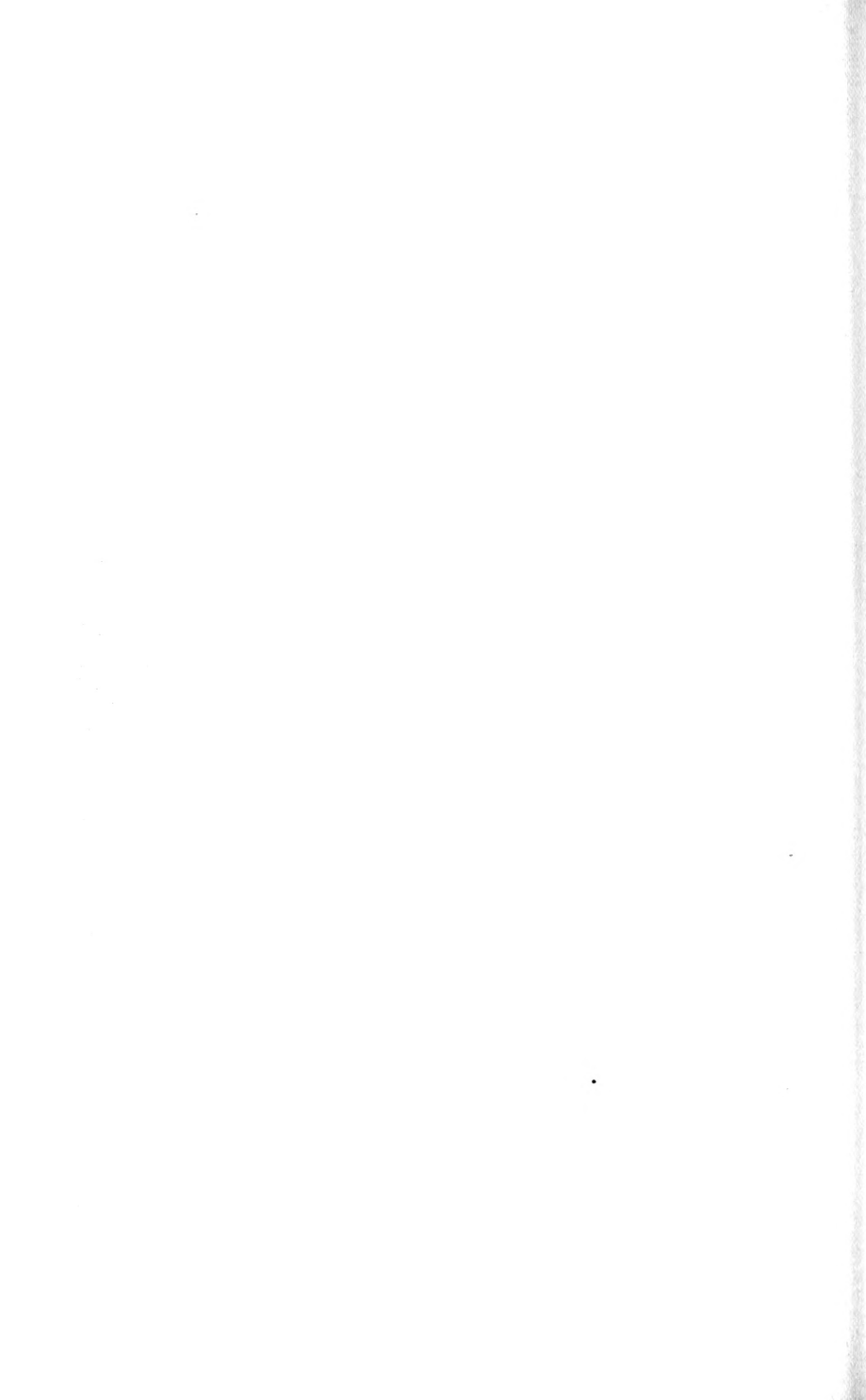
In his political faith Isaac H. Williamson favored Republicanism, but he was in no sense a decided partisan of the type of Acting Governor Lambert and Governors Bloomfield and Pennington. He had been outspoken against the opposition of the Federalists to the second war with England, and without his knowledge had been nominated in 1815 by the Essex County Republicans, and elected by them as a member of the House of Assembly.

In the distribution of party favors the Republicans had by no means neglected to send their men to the United States Senate, although in the selection of representatives to the upper house party lines were not so closely drawn as in later days. There had sat as Republicans Jonathan Dayton, John Condict, John Lambert, James J. Wilson (the able editor of the Trenton *True American*, who was defeated in a vote of thirty to twenty-four by Samuel Lewis Southard), and Mahlon Dickerson, who sat from 1817 to 1829, unopposed.

New Jersey had been equally true to her political faith in her vote for President and Vice-President of the United States. In 1804 the electors of the State had voted for Thomas Jefferson and

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George Clinton, in 1808 for James Madison and George Clinton, and in 1812 for De Witt Clinton and Jarard Ingersoll, Clinton being a "peace" Republican, who had been indorsed by Federalists, this move having a phase in the temporary success of Federalism in New Jersey during that year. In 1816 the State's electors voted for James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins and again for the same candidates in 1820.









**F**ROM the opening of the nineteenth century until the introduction of railway legislation in the early thirties marks the era of the turnpike, when New Jersey, following the example set by other States as well as by the national government, made efforts to unite, by a better system of public roads, the small towns, not only one with another, but with the great centers of Philadelphia and New York. These instruments of association, crude as they may have been, formed the connecting link between the colonial avenues of transportation, out of which they grew, and the days of steam.

By 1800 there were estimated to be about eleven hundred mill sites in the State, of which five hundred were devoted to the milling of flour. The products of New Jersey, as classified by contemporaneous writers, were wheat, flour, cider, horses, live cattle, hams (which were celebrated as being among the best in the world), lumber, flaxseed, leather, and iron in pigs and bars. It was estimated that Morris County alone could supply all the iron ore needed in the United States. At the opening of the century there were in that county two furnaces, two rolling mills, two slitting mills, and thirty forges, while in all New Jersey there were produced about twelve hundred tons of pig-iron, twelve hundred tons of bar iron, and two

hundred tons of nail rods. Of the products of the farm New Jersey gave especial attention to the development of merino sheep, which in 1802 had been brought to New England from Spain by Colonel David Humphreys, former minister to the Spanish court. By 1815 there were twenty-five thousand merino sheep in New Jersey, of which one-quarter were in Burlington. On the grazing lands forming a part of Newark and nearby towns were three thousand seven hundred of these animals, while Middlesex, Salem, and Gloucester had each about two thousand. There were probably one hundred and fifty carding machines in the State, twenty-nine being located in the County of Sussex.

The valleys of Morris, Sussex, and Warren Counties were filled with beef cattle, horses could be found upon every large plantation in the central part of the State, while the blue blossom of the flax plant, scattered through every township, gave promise of woman's work upon the farm when hatcheling-time came.

To reach a distant market was primarily the first object of those who were instrumental in advancing the cause of good roads, which began with the chartering of the turnpikes. Good roads, then as now, meant cheaper goods, saving of freights, improved mail facilities, increased circulation of newspapers, accessibility to schools and

churches, in fact the development of every factor in association. Thus it was that the turnpikes penetrated every portion of Central and Northern New Jersey; in some instances old roads were constructed upon new lines. Their building resulted in the expenditure of large sums of money for labor and materials, and brought to themselves lanes leading to the homes of wealthy landowners, as well as subsidiary roads which connected the pikes with numerous small villages.

Thomas F. Gordon, in his *Gazetteer* published in 1834, in examining the causes leading to the construction of turnpikes in New Jersey, states that the objects of their incorporation were threefold. First it was the desire of facilitating communication between Philadelphia and New York; the need of an outlet for the products of the fields and mines of the northern interior; and the creation of a market in New York City, to which end metropolitan capital was largely invested in New Jersey turnpike enterprises.

The first turnpike project for which a charter was granted in New Jersey was a bold one, seeking to unite the headwaters of the Delaware with Newark Bay. The road extended from Elizabeth through Springfield, Chatham, Morristown, Succasunna, Stanhope, Newton, and Culver's Gap to the Delaware opposite Milford, and was known as the Morris turnpike. So rapidly was the north-

western portion of the State developing that in 1804 and 1806 two separate charters authorized the construction of the Union turnpike, from Morristown through Dover, crossing the Rockaway River near Lake Hopatcong, thence by Sparta to Culver's Gap, where it rejoined the Morris turnpike. In 1806 the eastern and western portions of the State were united by the "Jersey" turnpike, extending from New Brunswick to Phillipsburg, passing through Somerville, White House, Pottersville, Clinton, and Bloomsbury, while at the same time the Legislature authorized the construction of a turnpike from Morristown by Mendham, Chester, German Valley, and Mansfield to Phillipsburg. Also in the year 1806 the Paterson and Hamburg 'pike was chartered, practically paralleling the Morris 'pike, and distant therefrom about fifteen miles in a northeasterly direction. A charter was secured for the Paterson and Hamburg road from Acquackanonk Landing through Paterson, Preakness, Bloomingdale, Newfoundland, and Hamburg to Deckertown, and was subsequently chartered to Milford under the legislative sanction of 1808. Thus Milford and Phillipsburg upon the upper Delaware, and Trenton under the Trenton and New Brunswick 'pike charter of 1804, were ultimately connected with the tidal waters at the mouth of the Hudson.

The ambitious enterprise of the proprietors and

associates of the Paulus Hook scheme led to the chartering of a turnpike company in 1804 connecting Jersey City with Hackensack, to which plan the State subscribed \$12,500. Two years previously a charter for a turnpike from Hackensack to Hoboken had also been secured.

Around Newark the turnpikes radiated like spokes from a hub. There, in 1806, were the roads chartered to extend to Pompton, to Mount Pleasant, and under the title of the "Essex and Middlesex" by way of Elizabeth, Rahway, and Metuchen to New Brunswick, while a road was projected, but never completed, to Springfield. During the next year the Belleville turnpike was chartered, connecting with the Newark and Pompton road. It was in 1811 that the construction of the turnpike from Newark to Morristown through South Orange was authorized.

From Perth Amboy a turnpike, chartered in 1808, extended through Bonhamtown and Metuchen to Bound Brook, intersected by another 'pike which ran from New Brunswick to Rahway, passing Piscataway, Bonhamtown, and Woodbridge.

With the growth of Paterson and the development of the Passaic Valley came new turnpikes. In 1806 a road was chartered from New Prospect to Ramapo (New York State line), in 1809 the Parsippany and Rockaway from Vanduyens

through Rockaway to the Union turnpike, while even the second war with England did not prevent the chartering of a 'pike from Dover to Succasunny. Following the close of the war a number of roads were projected and built in Passaic and Bergen Counties. In 1815 came the Hackensack and Hoboken and the Paterson and Hackensack, in 1816 a 'pike from the Hudson to the Hackensack and Hoboken road, in 1825 a road from Paterson to New Prospect and New Antrim, and in 1828 one from Paterson to Little Falls.

Along the valley of the upper Delaware there were several charters secured for turnpike privileges, but little active work was done upon them. One noticeable road, the "Spruce Run," was projected in 1813 from Clinton to Sherard's Mills, Sussex County; another road was chartered during the same year from Bayle's Mills and White House to New Germantown; in 1814 the charter for a 'pike from Newton to Deckertown was secured; while in 1817 a road from Hamburg to Goshen, New York, was sanctioned by the Legislature.

Broadly it may be said that from 1800 to 1828 there were fifty-four original charters secured for turnpike companies in New Jersey, of which only one-half conformed to the terms of the act of incorporation. During this period about five hundred and fifty miles of gravel and dirt were laid,



but little or no continuous telford or macadamized road.

Among the people who frequented the highways there was much of the colonial manner and spirit. There could be found old men who, unmindful of the statute in the case made and provided, drove to the left in passing another vehicle, men of quality still went about on horseback, while in midsummer clouds of dust betrayed the presence of sheep or cattle on the hoof being driven to market, urged by the barking of dogs and the "gads" of the drovers. Stage coaches lumbered along the highways, the great steeds tugging in their harness, while over their heads rolled the lurid profanity of the sun-burned men upon the boxes. Then came winter, and early spring, with wagons hub-deep in mud or caught unprotected in the drifting snows. But there was no dearth of taverns, with their courtyards alive with arriving and departing stages, with their spacious bars and heavy dinners, with their light and life and joy, now but memories and traditions. But few of the sleeping rooms of the taverns were warmed, it not being until the middle of the century that steam heat was introduced publicly in New Jersey, and then in one building where the permanency of its list of guests made such a comfort necessary. This was in the New Jersey State prison, then, by reason of this and other improve-

ments, called the "Rogue's Palace." But the sojourner, having less time to stay in New Jersey, was sent to a cold room, and put into bed with a copper warming pan and an apple-brandy toddy, "with" or "without," as taste and the extent of the pantry might dictate. Stages invariably started at unseemly hours, seldom later than sunrise, no matter whether the journey was five or fifty miles in length. The stages and their horses were not uniformly good, the men would talk politics and descant upon the "rising glories of America," the old women would "dip" snuff that fell upon the gowns of the young ladies, and there was discomfort a-plenty for those who looked at the reality rather than the poetry of these coaching days. Nearly every man went armed, the elderly ones with sword canes, the younger ones with pistols, but there was much more talk than fight. The highwayman had practically disappeared, with his swashbuckling and occasional bravery, and his place had been taken by the second-rate pickpocket, who hung around the inns and robbed the unwary, or forced his way into ladies' rooms in the taverns. Romance was passing away, leaving a few courtly old men, much rare mahogany, which was later to give place to crude, painted pine abominations, and a spirit of undying opposition to England and everything English.





**I**N a dim way, probably before the American Revolution, men with progressive ideas foreshadowed the possibilities of an internal water route between the Delaware and the Raritan Rivers. That sentiment was drifting toward the accomplishment of this end, and drifting rapidly, when the organization of the Federal government had been perfected, is shown by a suggestion made by the ponderous but none the less interesting Wintherbotham in his "Historical, Geographical, Commercial, and Philosophic View of the United States of America," of which the first American edition was printed in New York City during 1796. It is therein claimed that the Raritan River might be made "capable" of a "very steady" lock navigation as high as the junction of the North and South Branches, and thence up the south branch to Grandin's Bridge in Kingwood. Thence to the Delaware by turnpike or portage was but ten miles. Another route was offered, being that between the headwaters of the Assanpink Creek and Millstone River.

But when capital was presented with the estimates of cost it stood confounded at the size of the project. And so the plan awaited the coming of the years.

Elsewhere in the State a canal project had attracted local attention. In 1800 mill-dam proper-

ties on the South Branch of the Raritan were authorized to improve navigation by the erection of locks. But the agitation leading to the construction of a canal to unite Philadelphia and New York was formulated in the year 1804, when, by act of the Legislature, a charter was granted to a number of friends of internal improvement, among whom was William Paterson, for the purpose of opening communication by water from the river Raritan at or near New Brunswick to the tide-water of the river Delaware at or near Lambertton—a village of some commercial importance, then in the County of Burlington, but now a part of the City of Trenton. Incidentally it may be mentioned that in 1816 Michael Ortley was authorized to cut a tidal canal through Manasquan Beach. The Delaware and Raritan Canal had failed. Interest was again revived in 1816, when Thomas P. Johnson, of Princeton, surveyed a route from the Delaware to the Raritan by way of Heathcote and Lawrence Brooks. The revival of business after the panic of 1817 led the State of New Jersey, in 1823, to appoint commissioners—George Holcomb, Judge Lucius Q. C. Elmer, and Peter Kean—to locate a route uniting the Delaware and Raritan Rivers, and to report upon the probable expense and revenue incident to such a project. The commissioners, taking a somewhat socialistic view of the matter, recommended that

the State should become a party in undertaking so great an enterprise. Upon the 30th of December, 1826, a bill passed the Legislature incorporating the canal company, granting thereby equally exclusive privileges which had already been assured the promoters of the Morris Canal. No rival could construct a canal or railway within ten miles of any point upon the said canal or its feeder, and probably for the first time "government by injunction" appears in New Jersey legislation in the provision that the chancellor could "issue his injunction to stay and prevent the erection and construction" of any such opposing canal or railway. Owing to the inability of those interested in obtaining the consent of the State of Pennsylvania for the use of the waters of the Delaware the charter became a nullity.

Synchronous with the passage of the charter of the Camden and Amboy Railroad Company was the statute authorizing the corporate existence of the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company. This act of February 4, 1830, capitalized the company for one million dollars, with right of increase to one million five hundred thousand dollars. The par value of the shares of stock was placed at one hundred dollars. The canal was to be fifty feet wide at water line, five feet in depth, with a feeder somewhat smaller in size. No rival company could, without the consent of the new company,

construct a canal within five miles of any point upon this artificial waterway. The rates for freight were fixed at five cents per ton per mile. For each passenger the State was to receive a transit duty of eight cents, and the like amount on each ton of freight transported through the canal. In the case of rough freights, such as coal, lumber, ashes, and the like, the transit duty was two cents per ton. The State reserved the right to purchase the canal at a fair appraisement thirty years after its completion. Upon February 3, 1831, the time of State purchase was extended to fifty years, the canal to be made seventy-five feet wide at water line, seven feet deep, with locks one hundred feet long and twenty-four feet wide. With the creation of the joint companies, the consolidation of the Camden and Amboy Railroad and Transportation Company and the Delaware and Raritan Canal, under the so-called "Marriage Act" of February 15, 1831, all the rights, privileges, and franchises of the two corporations became identical.

The need of funds immediately became evident, and it was due to the energy of Commodore Robert F. Stockton, according to the relation of the story by J. Elfreth Watkins, Sr., that money was secured. In 1823 Commodore Stockton had been detailed to survey southern waters, and while in Charleston, South Carolina, met and married



Maria Potter, daughter of John Potter, a man of large wealth. Removing his family to Princeton, in 1826, Commodore Stockton induced his father-in-law to invest a half million dollars in the speculation, the money having fortunately been withdrawn from the United States Bank, the failure of which afterward wrecked so many fortunes.

Before the close of the month of February, 1830, the State commissioners—James Parker, James Neilson, John Potter, William Halsted, and Garret D. Wall—met to provide points at which stock subscription books should be open. Trenton, Princeton, and New Brunswick having been selected, the stockholders organized in Trenton upon the 10th of May, 1830. Robert F. Stockton, of Princeton, was chosen president; John R. Thomson, of Princeton, secretary; James Neilson, of New Brunswick, treasurer, with a board of directors consisting of James Parker, of Perth Amboy; William Halsted, of Trenton; Garret D. Wall and Joseph McIlvaine, of Burlington City; and James S. Green, of Princeton. The chief engineer was Canvass White, famed for his work upon the Erie Canal, assisted by J. Hulmstead, Ashbel Welch, and Edwin Douglass. The surveyors worked through the summer of 1830, also laying out a plan for a railroad from the Raritan River to the mouth of Heathcote Brook, and thence paralleling

the canal route to the Delaware River. It was estimated that the canal would cost about \$1,175,000 and the railroad about \$275,000. Steps were taken to present a memorial to the Legislature asking for railroad privileges.

The canal was completed during the year 1834, and with its feeder was sixty-five and a half miles in length, the main stem of the canal, from Bordentown to New Brunswick, passing through Trenton, Princeton, Kingston, Rocky Hill, Griggstown, Millstone, Somerville, and Bound Brook, the highest elevation being the lock at Trenton, which is fifty-eight feet above the level of the sea. In the report of the directors of the joint companies made to the Legislature in the year 1840 it is stated that the total cost of the canal had been \$2,830,000.

To the enterprise and enthusiasm of George P. MacCulloch, of Morristown, the State of New Jersey owes the inception of the Morris Canal, and to the zeal and energy of Cadwallader D. Colden, first president of the Morris Canal and Banking Company, its completion. Bold in its design, its demand upon the engineering skill of the day was far greater than that made by the Delaware and Raritan Company, and while it played no important part in the turmoil of State politics its generally unfortunate financial history is at least equally interesting.

While upon a fishing party, at Lake Hopatcong, Mr. MacCulloch conceived a plan for uniting the waters of the upper Delaware and the sea, but by a far different route than that designed extending along the lowlands of Central New Jersey. In brief, his plan was to erect a dam across the outlet of Lake Hopatcong, the source of the Musconetcong River, double the volume of water in the lake, lead the waters to the Rockaway River upon the east and to any practical route to Easton upon the west, and give an outlet to market for the mineral wealth of the region.

By 1820, owing to the cost of transportation of manufactured products and the scarcity of fuel, eighty-one iron forges of the Counties of Morris and Warren within a few years had decreased to fifty, while of twelve furnaces but three remained.

The Legislature of New Jersey, upon November 15, 1822, appointed George P. MacCulloch, Charles Kinsey, and Thomas Capner commissioners to inquire into the matters of surveying a route for the canal and the cost of construction. Major Ephraim Beach selected the route for the great waterway, and it was upon December 31, 1824, that the Morris Canal and Banking Company was chartered to build a canal from the Delaware River near Easton to Newark, and in 1828 was authorized to extend the canal to the Hudson River. The

authorized capital was one million five hundred thousand dollars, while in banking operations the sum of two hundred thousand dollars could be employed for every like sum expended on the canal. In 1829 the corporation was authorized to borrow money and issue bonds.

Under the plans of the engineers the canal was thirty-two feet in width at the water line, twenty feet wide at the bottom, and four feet deep, with locks seventy-five feet long and nine feet wide. This admitted the passage of no boats of over twenty-five tons burden. In the canal throughout its length of one hundred and one miles from Phillipsburg to Jersey City there were two divisions. The actual route lay from tide at Jersey City, thence across a narrow neck of land and Newark Bay to Newark, and ascended the hills to Bloomfield, Paterson, Little Falls, Boonton, Rockaway, Dover, and Summit, which was nine hundred feet above the level of the sea. Throughout this distance there were twelve inclined planes, an interesting system suggested by Professor James Renwick, of Columbia College, raising boats seven hundred and fifty feet, and seventeen locks performing a like service for one hundred and seventy feet. From Summit the canal ran along the valleys of the Musconetcong and the Pohatcong by Great Meadow and Hackettstown to Phillipsburg. In the western divi-

sion there were eleven planes, overcoming six hundred and ninety feet in elevation, and seven locks, which obviated seventy feet of ascent or descent.

But from the first the canal company contended with overwhelming difficulties. It was too small for the tonnage of its boats, which difficulty was partially corrected by 1844. Then the boats injured the machinery of the inclined planes, while by adroit manipulation the Lehigh anthracite coal trade, upon which the projectors of the Morris Canal Company had counted, was diverted to the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company.

While for many years the Morris Canal was of great benefit in upbuilding the region through which it passed, it was not a successful venture and became deeply involved in debt. Under the provisions of the original charter, as an inducement to capital to engage in so hazardous an enterprise, the State exempted the canal and its property from all taxes, reserving the right to take to itself the canal and its appurtenances in the year 1923, paying to the company the fair value thereof, to be estimated by commissioners. If the State does not elect to buy the property in 1923 the canal charter continues until 1973, at which time the charter ceases and the canal will become the property of the State.

The later history of New Jersey is practically barren of attempts to incorporate additional canal

companies, although during this period of industrial activity and subsequent to the panic of 1837 many companies to develop water power received charters, some of which are still in existence. To this end the Delaware River was and ever has been an attractive base for prospective operations.







**O**F THE many contests, industrial, religious, and political, of which New Jersey has been the scene no one struggle for supremacy was waged with greater bitterness than the fight for existence between the advocates of a railroad connecting New York and Philadelphia and the proprietors of the stage-coach lines, who then controlled the transportation of freight and passengers across the State.

With the advancement of the plan for a railroad there was a vigorous cry of "monopoly," a cry by no means unusual, in view of the fact that no greater monopoly ever existed than that exercised by the stage-coach proprietors. As late as 1834 the rate of stage-coach fare between Philadelphia and New York was six dollars, the time occupied in the journey being an entire day. By control of the inns and taverns on the route, and a system of practically compulsory "tips" for employés, to which must be added many discomforts, the travelling public was at the mercy of the stage lines, except the few voyagers who "snubbed" across New Jersey by way of the canal.

Under these conditions the Camden and Amboy Railroad came into being.

In the contention that the Camden and Amboy Railroad was a "monopoly" there was nothing new. As early as 1707 the Assembly complained

“that patents had been granted to one Dellman to transport goods on the road from Amboy to Burlington for a number of years to the exclusion of others,” and that such executive action was “destructive to that freedom which trade and commerce ought to have.” To this Governor Cornbury replied that, by reason of the monopoly, goods could be sent across New Jersey once during a fortnight “without danger of imposition,” for that alone by means of Dellman’s stage wagon a trade had been carried on between Philadelphia, Burlington, Amboy, and New York “which was never known before, and which, in all probability, never would have been.” When came the later stage-boat lines, those under the management of the Bordens, Richardson, and O’Byrant, the ferries of the Inians, Billops, and Redfords in East Jersey, there was still the complaint of monopoly, excessive rates, and poor service.

By the opening of the nineteenth century the roads of New Jersey between Philadelphia and New York were but little improved beyond the deplorable condition which Governor Franklin criticised in 1768, when he said that these highways were “seldom passable without danger and difficulty.” But with the agitation concerning internal improvements which marked the advent of Jefferson’s administration no less than nine turnpikes were chartered by the Legislature on the

route from Philadelphia to New York. These were the Hackensack and Hoboken, 1802; the Trenton and New Brunswick, 1804, with its annex, the bridge over the Delaware; the Jersey City and Hackensack, 1804; the Essex and Middlesex from New Brunswick to Newark, 1806; a continuation of the Trenton and New Brunswick turnpike from Princeton to Kingston, 1807; the Woodbridge and Rahway, 1808; and a branch of the Trenton and New Brunswick from Burlington through Bordentown to Trenton, 1808. It was not, however, until 1816 that the famous Bordentown and South Amboy turnpike was constructed.

It is with a great degree of justice that J. Elfreth Watkins, Sr., of Washington, D. C., in his admirable monograph dealing with the origin and early history of the Camden and Amboy Railroad, attributes the progress of steam transportation on the soil and waters of the State of New Jersey to the efforts of John Stevens. In that long life between 1749 and 1838 this inventor-statesman saw New Jersey emerge from the horrors of the French and Indian War, witnessed, as treasurer of New Jersey during the Revolution, the political birth of a nation, and helped, more than any other man, to lay the foundations of that system of transportation which has made the State the terminus in whole or in part of every great trunk line or its allied interests in the republic. Ceaselessly active,

he devoted the ninety years of his life to the common good, as an experimentalist and inventor, giving to the improvement of steam navigation a large proportion of that great wealth which he had inherited and increased.

There hangs in the section of transportation and engineering in the United States National Museum in Washington a medallion portrait of John Stevens, and beneath it an inscription. This is but a small part of the record of so useful a life, but from it there may be learned that John Stevens, as a petitioner, was the father of the patent law of 1790, that he, in 1792, took out patents for propelling vessels by steam pumps, modified from Savary's plans, and that in his experiments on different modes of propulsion by steam he had as his associates Brunel, constructor of the Thames Tunnel connecting London with the Surrey shore; Chancellor of the State of New York Robert R. Livingston, whose sister Stevens married; and Nicholas I. Roosevelt, of the patroon family of which President Theodore Roosevelt is a member. From these experiments, in 1798, John Stevens made a steamboat that navigated the Hudson. In 1804 he made his first application of steam to the four-bladed screw propeller, which has survived many forms and which was not commercially successful until 1840. His multi-tubular boiler appeared in 1803, and the first steam

ferry in the world, that between New York and Hoboken, was opened October 11, 1811, with the trip of the "Juliana."

Turning his attention during the second war with England to the possibilities of steam transportation upon land, he urged the construction of a steam road instead of the Erie Canal, and paved the way for the building of those local railroads which were subsequently united in the New York Central Railroad system. Later, in 1823, with Horace Binney and Stephen Girard, John Stevens obtained a charter from the State of Pennsylvania for a railroad from Lancaster to Philadelphia, on the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and in 1826 he built the first locomotive having a tubular boiler which ran upon any railroad in America. This locomotive carried six people at a speed of over twelve miles an hour, and was operated upon a circular track within the limits of his estate in Hoboken.

The immediate predecessor of the Camden and Amboy Railroad was the Union Line of wagons and stages, which enjoyed a monopoly of the trade between New York and Philadelphia. As early as 1808 the "Phoenix," which was, according to Mr. Watkins's narrative, "the first steam driven craft to venture out to sea," was designed by John Stevens, built by Robert L. Stevens, and was taken to Philadelphia from Hoboken by the Sandy Hook-

Cape May route. The "Phoenix" became the property of the Union Line, whose route of one hundred and one miles between Philadelphia and New York was divided into three sections—by steamboat from Philadelphia to Trenton, by wagon or stage upon the Trenton-New Brunswick turnpike, and thence by the Raritan and the waters bounding Staten Island on the west to New York. The trip occupied from noon of one day until the morning of the next, and was both tedious and expensive.

It was given to John Stevens to look far into the future, to see that even the steamboat and the canal projects in Europe were to be supplanted. As early as 1812 Stevens had published his "Documents Tending to Prove the Superior Advantages of Railways and Steam Carriages Over Canal Navigation," but even his valid reasoning, his logical conclusions, based upon a wealth of facts and figures, failed to convince capitalists that railroads were more beneficial than canals, and that as investments they might become reasonably popular.

In the meantime the growing commercial importance of England, and the congestion of her population in the manufacturing centers, had developed railroad construction to a degree that attracted the attention of the civilized world. Among those who went abroad for a personal

study of English railroads was William Strickland, a member of the Pennsylvania Society for Internal Improvement, and it was the facts presented in this report, and the personal enthusiasm of John Stevens and his friends, that led to the first public railroad meeting ever held in the commonwealth. Upon the 14th of January, 1828, "a large and respectable meeting of the citizens of New Jersey friendly to the proposed railway from Camden to Amboy" occupied the court house in Mount Holly. Of this assemblage John Black was president, John Dobbins vice-president, and Charles Stokes and James Newbold secretaries. A committee appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting reported that the members were deeply impressed with the importance of internal communication, and recommended the extension of the policy throughout the Atlantic States, that New Jersey should sustain a line of communication between New York and Philadelphia, and that the application to the Legislature for the railroad is highly approved, not only as a local project, but as one of the most important links in the great chain of "internal intercourse." A general committee to urge the matter before the House of Assembly and Council, and committees from Gloucester and Burlington Counties to secure signatures upon a legislative memorial, were selected. This meeting

was followed by others at Burlington, Bordentown, Princeton, and Trenton, as well as in other portions of the State, upon which occasions similar sentiments were expressed, while the Legislature received memorials in 1828-29 and in 1829-30 upon this subject.

But the friends of the canal interests were by no means inactive. The Union Line had identified its powerful interests with those of the projected railroad as against the canal scheme, which had been taken up by the People's Line and lesser rivals of the Union Line. The State was filled with talk of "monopoly," of the injury that would come to stage drivers, tavern keepers, and road gangs, of the political dangers that a railroad charter presented, and, above all, that the railroad itself was destructive to life and limb, brought undesirable elements to the State, endangering public morals, and was in every way objectionable. Then appeared in the legislative session of 1829-30 the first "lobby," recognized as such, when the friends of the railroad and the canal found it necessary, as in the latter sixties and early seventies, when the "monopoly" agitation again appeared, to go armed about the streets of Trenton.

But in January, 1830, a compromise was effected. From negotiations completed between the principals of the warring interests charters



were granted the Camden and Amboy Railroad and Transportation Company and the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company. The separate legislation was passed upon the 4th of February, 1830. On the 28th of April, 1830, the organization of the Camden and Amboy Railroad was effected, in Camden, by the election of Robert L. Stevens, of Hoboken, president; Edwin A. Stevens, of Hoboken, treasurer; Jeremiah H. Sloan, of Camden, secretary; and a board of directors consisting of Abraham Brown, of Mount Holly; William McKnight, of Bordentown; William I. Watson, of Philadelphia, and Benjamin Fish, of Trenton.

Under the provisions of the Camden and Amboy Company's charter the capital stock authorized was one million dollars, divided into shares of one hundred dollars each, with the privilege of increase to one million five hundred thousand dollars. The Legislature reserved the right to subscribe to one-quarter of the stock. The designated terminals were indefinite. On the south the road was to commence at some point between "Cooper's and Newton's Creeks," and on the north to end at "some point on the Raritan Bay."

There first appeared in the charter that provision against which all subsequent attacks of the "anti-monopolists" were directed. In lieu of all taxes the new railroad company agreed to pay a transit duty of ten cents for each passenger and

fifteen cents a ton for all merchandise transported. These transit duties were to cease in case the Legislature authorized the construction "of any other road to transport passengers from Philadelphia to New York to terminate within three miles of the commencement or termination of this road." This protection was made absolute upon March 15, 1832, when the Legislature in an amendment to the statute provided that during the life of the charter—the State having reserved the right to purchase the road at the end of thirty years—it should be unlawful to construct any railroad between Philadelphia and New York without the consent of the companies.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1830 surveys were made under the direction of Major John Wilson, of the United States army, assisted by Lieutenant William Cook, having charge of the section from South Amboy to Bordentown, and John Edgar Thompson, afterward president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, in charge from Bordentown to Camden.

With the completion of the surveys for the Camden and Amboy Railroad Robert L. Stevens started upon a mission to England, under instructions to order a locomotive and rails for the new road. Fortunately for the cause of transportation the long voyage gave Stevens an opportunity to exercise his talents as an inventor. While upon

the ship he either produced or perfected the American or Stevens rail, adding a base to the "T" rail, and dispensing with the chair then in use. To this he added the "hook headed" spike, the "iron tongue," known in its present form as the "fish bar," and the rivets (now bolts and nuts), necessary to complete the joints. After many failures the Guest Iron Works at Dowlais, Wales, succeeded in making a rail sixteen feet in length and weighing about forty pounds to the yard. Between May, 1831, and October, 1832, there were twenty-three shipments of rails to New Jersey, the first arriving on the ship "Charlemagne," and laid on the piece of track near Bordentown in August, 1831. At this spot, upon November 12, 1891, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company erected a handsome monument, properly inscribed, commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the first movement by steam upon a railway in the State of New Jersey.

The village of Bordentown, upon a sultry day in the middle of August, 1831, was all excitement, for there stood upon the wharf, surrounded by a crowd of the curious, the locomotive "John Bull" or "No. 1," which had been recently completed at the English works of Stephenson and Company. To Isaac Dripps, later master mechanic of the Camden and Amboy Railroad, whose technical education had been acquired with

the Stevenses in their experiments with steamboats on the Delaware and the Hudson, was assigned the duty of assembling the parts of the "John Bull." Without directions or drawings, Dripps, who had never seen a locomotive, prepared the engine, weighing ten tons, for track work. A tender was made from a converted four-wheel flat car, used by the contractors, the tank being a large whiskey barrel, and the supply of water conveyed to the boiler by short sections of shoe leather hose made by a Bordentown shoemaker. After a preliminary test the locomotive was given a public trial upon the 12th of November, 1831, in the presence of the members of the Legislature and invited guests of prominence. Attached to the locomotive were two four-wheeled coaches, built to be drawn by horses if need should arise. These coaches were practically carriage bodies, three doors to a side, with the seats facing each other, and built upon English models by the Greens of Hoboken. The first woman to ride upon the train was Madam Murat, a Bordentown girl, wife of Prince Murat and niece by marriage to Napoleon Bonaparte.

The advent of the "John Bull" led to the establishment of the Camden and Amboy shops at Hoboken, where in 1832-33 there were three locomotives built, while in 1832 from these models Matthias Baldwin, in Philadelphia, constructed



THE VAN WAGONER HOMESTEAD AT PASSAIC.

(Erected in 1778.)



THE GREAT FALLS AT PATERSON.



the " Ironsides " for the Philadelphia and Norristown Railroad Company, now a part of the Philadelphia and Reading system, and thus established the Baldwin Locomotive Works in Philadelphia.

While the road was being completed from Amboy to Camden, and the engineers were contending with problems at the " deep cut " near the mouth of the Raritan, horses were used to convey freight and passengers. A section from Bordentown to Hightstown was finished on September 19, 1832, and on December 17 of the same year the line was completed to South Amboy. Three freight cars, with a capacity of six or seven thousand pounds each, were put in service on January 24, 1833, the goods being conveyed from Bordentown to Camden by wagon road. In the meantime the railroad company had acquired control of all steamboat lines upon the Delaware and from New York to the Amboys. As late as the summer of 1833 relays of horses, " driven continuously on the run," took passengers from Bordentown to the Raritan, the trip of thirty-four miles requiring two and a half hours. Early in September, 1833, the " John Bull " began service, leaving Bordentown at seven in the morning and returning at four in the afternoon. The late fall and winter of 1833 found the road opened from Bordentown to a point south of Raucocas Creek, and in January, 1834, the road was completed to Camden, and the

single track system of sixty-one miles was opened for continuous travel between New York and Philadelphia.

The inauguration of the Camden and Amboy Railroad and the success of the plan, its stock selling for \$134 in July, 1835, had led to the presence of rival corporations. Securing a charter from the State of Pennsylvania upon the 23d of February, 1832, the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad Company had constructed a line in 1833 from Morrisville, opposite Trenton, to Bristol, which in 1835 had been extended to Kensington, now the great shipbuilding center of Philadelphia. This corporation had also secured a majority of the stock of the Trenton Bridge Company and the Trenton and New Brunswick Turnpike Company. Upon March 7, 1832, the New Jersey Railroad was chartered to construct a railroad from Jersey City to New Brunswick through Newark, Elizabeth, Rahway, and Woodbridge, with a capitalization of seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The line had been completed to Elizabeth in 1834, and had practically reached New Brunswick late in 1835. To remove all opposition, particularly as the Trenton and Philadelphia corporation claimed that it could lay tracks on the wagon road under the terms of the charter of the Trenton and New Brunswick Turnpike Company, the joint companies acquired a controlling interest in the stock



of the Philadelphia and Trenton Company, with its allied corporations, the Delaware Bridge Company, and the Trenton and New Brunswick Turnpike Company. On September 26 the Camden and Amboy Company entered into a "traffic agreement" with the New Jersey Railroad Company that "the price for passage from New York to Philadelphia shall be four dollars for day passengers and five dollars for night passengers, the receipts to be divided in *pro rata* proportion as to the length of the respective railroads used in this transportation, the fare from Philadelphia to New York, by way of Bordentown and Amboy, to remain three dollars for each regular passenger and two dollars for forward passengers." The Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad also agreed to build a railroad from Bordentown to New Brunswick, the line projected to follow the canal as far as Kingston and thence across country to New Brunswick. In spite of the disasters attending the panic of 1837, and the failure of the Bank of the United States to meet guaranteed sterling bills of exchange on Baring Brothers in London, Commodore Stockton sailed for England and raised funds on six per cent. bonds amounting to nearly eighty-three thousand pounds. This was probably one of the first negotiations of American railroad securities in a foreign market. In September, 1837, the new road was completed from Bordentown to

Trenton, and was used by passengers in 1838. In spite of the failure of a syndicate of capitalists to meet their agreements relative to a lease of the joint companies, which lease, in contemplation, was used by Commodore Stockton to attract European capital, he succeeded in selling bonds, and overcame all imputations made against himself and the project that he represented. For a year and a half no work had been done between Trenton and New Brunswick, but with the arrival of funds in the spring of 1838 such advancement was made with the enterprise that by January 1, 1839, the twenty-four miles of track was completed. The year 1839 was spent in making certain radical changes, such as rebuilding the bridge over the Delaware, making it safe to sustain the weight of the locomotives, the alteration of the gauge of the Camden and Amboy and the Philadelphia and Trenton lines, thus avoiding a transfer at Trenton, and the introduction of through cars. By 1840, the first through all-rail line from Philadelphia to New York was completed.

The report of the Camden and Amboy directors made on the 29th of January, 1840, shows that in construction several devices of rail-laying were adopted. On twenty-six miles between South Amboy and Bordentown the track was prepared by embedding stone blocks, two feet square, a yard apart. Five-inch holes were drilled in each

block. Attached to these blocks dressed locust chairs fourteen inches long and from one to two inches thick were fastened. On these chairs the Stevens "T" rail was laid and fastened with six-inch spikes. This rail was three and one-half inches high, with two and one-eighth inches on the upper running surface, and weighed forty-two pounds to the yard. The ends of the bars rested on wrought-iron plates or cast-iron chairs, connected with iron tongues.

Seven miles of the system were laid upon cross oak and chestnut sleepers, embedded in broken stone, upon stone trenches, and consolidated with heavy hand pounders. To these sleepers the rail was attached.

At South River for a short distance continuous granite sills, twelve by fourteen inches, eight to ten feet long, were laid. To these a flat bar of iron two and a quarter inches wide and seven-eighths inch thick was attached. After four years' trial this method was abandoned. Cross sleepers of locust were laid transversely on the sills and the edge rail was placed thereon.

In Camden and Burlington red cedar piles seven feet long were driven into the ground about a yard apart. Upon these the edge rail was fastened. At Pensauken Creek a wooden rail was laid. The foundation was a plank three and a half inches thick and two feet in width under each rail. Cross

sleepers of oak were placed every four feet, with blocks two feet long intervening. Upon these blocks and sleepers a wood rail six inches square, of yellow pine, rested, with a flat bar of iron two and a quarter inches wide fastened thereon by spikes and screw bolts.

Of the rolling stock of the Camden and Amboy Company, in 1840, there were seventeen locomotives and sixty-four passenger cars, two of these cars having the proverbial "rocking chairs," which always attracted the attention of European travellers of the period, one car of the omnibus type and eight cars for forward deck passengers, while the construction of the road and its equipment from 1831 to 1840 had involved the expenditure of \$3,220,000.

There has been preserved an interesting memento of the running time of "Engine No. 8" which gives a fair idea of the length of time occupied in 1835 in the railroad journey between Camden and South Amboy. For this distance of sixty-two miles the running time was five hours and twenty minutes, allowing one hour and five minutes, an average of fifteen miles an hour, for the detention of the engine. There were then six stations on the route. With thirty-nine possible "stops," the slowest local train of the Pennsylvania Railroad to-day covers the distance in two

hours and a half, while the trip could be made in an hour, at an average of sixty miles an hour.

In the eastern portion of the State the growth of the railroad idea was extremely rapid. Within two years nine companies, having an authorized capital of \$7,140,000, were chartered. Besides the Camden and Amboy and the New Jersey Companies there were several corporations that, while organized upon a local basis, with none of the broad aims of the Camden and Amboy system, are of especial interest, as illustrative of the development of the industrial activity in the East Jersey towns.

In 1831, late in January, the Paterson and Hudson River Railroad Company was incorporated with a capital of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. In its charter it was provided that the road must commence or pass within fifty feet of the intersection of Congress and Mill Streets, Paterson, thence to Weehawken, terminating at any suitable point upon the Hudson opposite the City of New York. In the crossing of the Hackensack the railroad was authorized to pass over the river near or upon the bridge of the New Barbadoes Company. The State reserved the right to purchase the road after the expiration of fifty years from its completion, and required the payment of a graded per centage upon its capital stock in lieu of all taxation. In 1831 the Paterson Junction

Railroad Company was chartered to construct a railroad from a point on the Morris Canal for a distance of one and a half miles to intersect the Paterson and Hudson River Railroad Company at its Paterson terminal. Another road, which was never built, was chartered March 8, 1832, to extend from Paterson to Fort Lee.

The year 1831, so prolific in railroad corporations, marked the beginnings of the Elizabethtown and Somerville Railroad Company, which was chartered upon the 9th of February. The road was to pass as near as practicable by Bound Brook, Plainfield, Scotch Plains, and Westfield, and had an authorized capital of two hundred thousand dollars, to which the State reserved the right of subscribing twenty-five thousand. In 1833 the stock was increased to five hundred thousand dollars, and legislative authority was given to extend the road from Somerville by way of Clinton to Belvidere, and to construct a branch, if necessary, its western terminal being a point between the mouth of the Musconetcong and Phillipsburg.

The project to thus construct a road from Easton to tidewater was but one of the manifestations of the development of the great anthracite coal industry, which had appeared as one of the forces in the revolutionizing of the industrial life of the United States. In Pennsylvania the North-

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western Railroad had been proposed, extending from the Delaware opposite Belvidere, by the Water Gap and Stroudsburg, to Pittstown upon the Susquehanna.









**T**HE one great dominant figure in the line of presidential succession between Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln—self-willed, aggressive, forceful, even in his irascibility, living so largely for the present, yet planning well and thoroughly, intensely human in word, speech, and act—was that man of men, Andrew Jackson. Never in days of peace was a President more abused or more glorified; never was one whose daily life was subjected to closer scrutiny, nor yet one whose official acts were lauded by his uncompromising adherents without cause or without reason.

The dominant keynote of Andrew Jackson's life was to be found in that phrase, Napoleonic in its brevity and in the universality of its application: "To the victors belong the spoils"; yet, as John T. Morse, Jr., suggests in William Graham Sumner's "Andrew Jackson," the "Great Commoner" would have read the phrase "'To the *victor* belong the spoils'—and he himself was the victor."

There was something in the masterfulness of Andrew Jackson which commended itself to the mass of the American people. He unquestionably represented a self-assertive democracy. He was a political materialist, who would fight for what was right, and whatever he believed to be right was right. Through his veins poured the rich,

red blood of a Scotch-Irish line; he had fought battles, military and political; he represented in himself a new era,—world-subduing but crude,—the “era of social unrest.”

With the decline and fall of the conserving institutions of Federalism, with no lasting traditions of art, literature, ecclesiasticism, diplomacy, or even of thoroughly established legal customs, the American people, spurred on by nervous activity, variable climate, necessity, and natural advantages, turned to industrialism and the reform of such institutions as had gained anything like permanent lodgment upon the eastern shores of North America.

Thus from 1820 to 1845 the people of the United States struggled, often vainly, to accomplish material reform and to advance the nation to a position of importance. An individualistic policy resulted.

Before 1820 certain causes tended to operate toward this end. The writer, in a recent monograph treating of this era, shows that previous to this period the steamboat had become an accomplished fact, turnpikes had been built, emigrants had swarmed into the fertile lands of the Mississippi Valley, canals had been constructed, railroads had been projected, newspapers had multiplied, mails were reaching nearly every eastern hamlet, while manufactures were being

fostered in many localities. Anthracite coal and the consequent development of the iron industry made the construction of labor and time-saving machinery a most important consideration. Population was congesting in larger centers, emigration from Europe had set in; all progressive men were animated by industrialism. In political life the same spirit was apparent; the intense conservatism of the past was giving way to liberalism. The older doctrine of government "for and of the people" embraced a new element "by the people." A more liberal franchise, State officers popularly elected, freedom of individual action in nominating conventions, were but a few of the demands.

Equally was this true in religious life, where the direct influence of dominant sects was becoming less apparent. People were questioning dogma. Andrew Jackson, in 1824, entered upon the contest for the presidency in a manner entirely typical of the man. Besides himself four candidates were before the people: John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and William H. Crawford. The election, owing to the fact that no one candidate received a majority of the electoral votes, was thrown into the House of Representatives, and the "era of good feeling" came to a close in one of the most bitter party quarrels that ever marked the history of the political institu-

tions of the United States. Jackson was defeated, although New Jersey remained true to her national Democratic allegiance, to which she had closely held since the days of Thomas Jefferson.

Partially entrenched in New Jersey, Jackson drew to himself all of the anti-Federalistic elements of the State. During the four years preceding the election of 1828 every effort was made to break down what little was left of the party of Hamilton. It has been said that in 1828 the campaign of 1824 was repeated, if anything, with a greater display of hatred and vituperation. The political situation was little less than a seething caldron, under which burned the fiercest fires of agitation and of personal abuse. No candidate's character was safe in the hands of the pamphleteers; encounters, with the use of firearms, were frequent between local leaders of public opinion. From the assault Jackson rode triumphant to institute a policy which has made him among the most famous of all Americans.

The presidential election of 1828 and the contest for the governorship in 1829 disclosed the relation New Jersey occupied toward Jackson and his policy. Although, as the result of the prevailing sentiment in New Jersey, the seven electoral votes of the State were cast for John Q. Adams and Richard Rush, as President and Vice-Presi-

dent, it was in 1829 that Garret D. Wall, a Jacksonian Democrat, was elevated to the governorship, the mantle upon his declination of the office falling upon another Jacksonian Democrat, Peter D. Vroom. Although both Samuel L. Southard and Elias P. Seeley, as Whigs, inheritors of the Federal spirit, held the governorship under an inconspicuous and brief tenure, it was in 1833 that the triumph of Jackson in New Jersey was made complete. In 1832 the voters of the State had declared their preference for Andrew Jackson as President and Martin Van Buren as Vice-President, while once more Peter D. Vroom sat in the executive chair. Thence until the panic of 1837, when the Democratic party fell, charged with the economic causes that produced "hard times," the New Jersey delegation in the House of Representatives was solidly Democratic. There were Philemon Dickerson, who resigned to accept the governorship in 1836; Samuel Fowler, the party leader in Sussex County; James Parker, of Middlesex; Ferdinand D. Schenck, of Somerset; William N. Shinn, who organized the Democrats of Central New Jersey; and Thomas Lee, the personal representative of the President in the southern part of the State, who wrested from his former business partner, Joshua Brick, the leader of Federalism and Whiggery, the political control of the counties south of Burlington.

The era of social unrest had many manifestations in New Jersey. Reform was in the air; and although its most potent expression was in the adoption of the new constitution of 1844, the spirit of the day reached out into every field of human activity. Unguided by experience and often overzealous, every reformer urged, to the limit, the merits of his plan for the correction of social evils. True, there were many questionable reforms advanced; "cranks" with a thousand "isms" came to the surface in the stirring of the waters, together with mountebanks and charlatans, ready to foist upon the public any scheme to bring to themselves gold and notoriety. "But these were excrescences," says the author of the "Biographical, Genealogical and Descriptive History of New Jersey," in that "popular movement tending toward the betterment of human conditions. In the intensity of honest thought and feeling every subject of human interest was discussed in the lyceums, public meetings, newspapers, and Legislatures. Pamphlets came by the thousands from the presses; monographs were circulated as never before. Steam printing presses and cheaper postage made the multiplication and circulation of printed matter an important factor in the dissemination of individual views. Organizations were formed to encourage the propagation of theories, economic, industrial, religious, and philanthropic.



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The Legislatures were deluged with petitions, and, as the law-making bodies were less automatic in action than those of the present day, prolonged debates resulted."

In the much neglected but significant subject of amusements then, as now, such amusements represented the true attitude of the public mind. In New Jersey, with its conservative religious sentiment opposed to recreations of a frivolous type, there were many who revolted against the rigidity of church discipline. Thus every novelty attracted. Theatrical performances in the cities of Philadelphia and New York, travelling circuses, and itinerant shows in the country towns furnished much of the amusement which the people of the State craved.

Among the mass of the people it was an era of coarseness and brutality. Unpopular actors were driven with vituperative cat calls from the stage; public balls were held in municipal buildings, in which there were drinking and fighting. Cock, dog, and prize fights were common. Many men went armed. It was a time of physical as well as of intellectual contests. While local lotteries had been generally suppressed, there was a large trade in tickets of lotteries drawn in nearby cities. Saloons were slowly taking the place of the old-time taverns, and malt liquors were being introduced as substitutes for those of a spir-

ituous nature. But among the more highly educated the sympathies of the people of the State went out to the criminal, delinquent, defective, and dependent classes. Prison reform had led to the abandonment of the old prison at Trenton, now used as the State arsenal, and found its expression in the erection of a more commodious structure. The revelations made by Miss Dix led to greatly needed reforms in county jails and poor-houses, while those unfortunates who were only dependent, as early as 1825, were cared for by the Legislature. This was by means of an act passed for the protection of children who had been abandoned by their parents. Similar legislation led to the legislative action of 1851, limiting the hours of child-labor in factories, and preventing the employment of those under ten years of age. In 1845 an orphan asylum had been incorporated near Princeton, at Mount Lucas, which was soon followed by similar institutions in Elizabeth and Newark.

Between 1830 and 1845 voluntary, beneficial, and benevolent societies were incorporated by the Legislature. These were the pioneers struggling with the new problem of organized charity, and appeared in Allowaystown, Burlington, Bordentown, Bridgeton, Camden, Fairfield, Fairton, Mount Holly, Newark, Lower Penn's Neck, Vincenttown, and generally for the Counties of

Salem and Cumberland. In 1839 a German Beneficial Society was established in Newark, interesting as showing the rapid growth of a foreign element in the eastern part of the State. During this same period, to counteract the then all too general and deleterious effects of the use of intoxicating liquors, there came into existence in the Eastern States organizations, partially secret in their nature, popularly known as "temperance societies." These flourished, particularly in West Jersey, where the Society of Friends for many years had officially declared itself as opposed to the improper use of malt and spirituous liquors. From 1840 to 1845 temperance societies, with beneficial privileges, were incorporated for Bordentown, Camden, Lambertton, Trenton, Upper Penn's Neck, and Vincenttown. These beneficial and "temperance" societies later were dissolved, yet their moral effect was highly stimulating at a time when excessive drinking in public and private was so common as to cause but little adverse comment.

Of the political excesses of the day one movement which appeared in New Jersey is entirely characteristic of a state of society whose doctrine was "Equality," whatever its practices may have been. The rapid growth of the Masonic order in New Jersey and elsewhere had gathered into the ranks of that ancient and honorable fra-

ternity a large number of men of wealth, influence, and social position. Against these "organized aristocrats," to use a term of the day, a feeling of opposition arose not unlike that earlier expressed against the Cincinnati. From the incident of the disappearance of one William Morgan, a member of the organization, a great popular clamor arose. Morgan's home was in Batavia, New York. He was alleged to have been abducted by Masons, after he had printed a book pretending to reveal the secrets of the organization. Based upon such charges, a party arose which became sufficiently national in its scope to spread from Massachusetts to Ohio, and as far south as Pennsylvania. In New Jersey the movement made little headway, owing largely to the power of the Masonic lodges which had been located in the State, not only from Revolutionary but from colonial times.

Such strength as the anti-Masonic party possessed in New Jersey was drawn mainly from those Democrats, some of whom considered the society to be of an aristocratic and exclusive character, a proposition sustained by the professional politicians who headed the movement. Like all other organizations which magnify local conditions into circumstances of national importance, the anti-Masonic party passed from the stage, remembered as the organization responsible for the

system of holding conventions of delegates for the purpose of nominating presidential and vice-presidential candidates. In 1831 the party thus nominated William Wirt and Thomas Ellmaker, at Baltimore.

Into the rural communities reforms had made slow but substantial headway. Upon the farms the "standard of living" had been advanced. Fresh meat came more generally into use; the farmer ate his meals in rooms separate from the kitchen, partaking of food prepared upon cook stoves. Carpets covered his formerly sanded floors, while perhaps one of the recently invented sewing machines appeared in the "sitting-room." Under a wooden shed it is possible that there stood a sample of the three thousand harvesters sold in 1850, while along a highway in Central New Jersey later stood a line of low, mysterious telegraph poles connecting Philadelphia and New York. While going to the postoffice, if it rained, he might have worn one of the Goodyear "vulcanized" rubber coats, which protected him and his mail, the letters of which were "prepaid," as was indicated by the adhesive stamp upon the envelope. His daughters attended the lyceums, and read the current, fantastic, sentimental, short novels, published in the yearly "lady's books" and in the "literary" corner of the county newspaper, or made "tidies" for the hair-cloth furni-

ture in the "best room." The sons were becoming ambitious, were tiring of the farm, and in the excitement of the time were filled with "wanderlust," leading them not only to the great cities, but to seek El Dorado, the gold fields of California, to participate in the filibustering expeditions, or to "try their luck" upon the prairies of the mid-west.

Such were but a few of the outward phases of that period when Jackson gave to life in the White House a new meaning, a new purpose, a new goal. Such were but a few of the conditions that marked the years so well called the "era of social unrest."







**J**OSEPH BONAPARTE, elder brother of Napoleon, member of the Council of Five Hundred, of which his brother Lucien was president, senator and member of the Grand Council of the Legion of Honor, Grand Elector and Prince of France, conqueror of the Kingdom of Naples, and from 1808 to 1813 King of Spain, was, under the title of the Count de Survilliers, for many years a resident of the State of New Jersey, where, in the village of Bordentown, he held an unofficial but regal court in the midst of republican simplicity.

Upon the field of Waterloo the white stars on that eventful night, in 1815, looked down upon the blasted hopes of Napoleon Bonaparte. The fabric of the dream of the modern Cæsar had vanished, the house of the great Corsican had crumbled. The greatest drama of the modern world had closed amid the boom of cannon and the outpouring of streams of human blood. Nothing was left for the Bonapartes but flight to America. In preparing for this course one succeeded and made New Jersey his home; the other, preparing his departure from the Isle d'Aix, laid down his life upon the wave-swept shores of Saint Helena.

It was in the brig "Commerce," laden with Bordeaux wines, that Joseph Bonaparte and a small suite, conspicuous among whom was his confi-

dential secretary and friend, Louis Maillard, sailed from France for New York. Three times overhauled by British cruisers searching for Napoleon, the identity of the ex-King of Spain had been so successfully concealed that even the Swedish Captain Messervey was not aware of the personality of his passenger. This enforced secrecy was raised on the arrival of the "Commerce" at New York, and, in the City Hotel, Henry Clay, who had just returned from Europe, having negotiated the treaty of Ghent, surrendered to Joseph Bonaparte a suite of rooms which had been engaged by the distinguished American.

From New York Joseph Bonaparte proceeded to Philadelphia, where he resided on the site of the Bingham House, and where, during February, 1824, Joseph Lucien Charles Napoleon was born to Prince Charles and his wife Zenaide. Another home occupied by Joseph Bonaparte was "Lansdowne," in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, a superb establishment, former residence of John Penn, last proprietary governor of Pennsylvania. Here, too, had dwelt Mr. Bingham, grandfather of Lord Ashburton. Subsequently Joseph Bonaparte's city residence was in Girard Row, on Chestnut Street. The story goes that Joseph offered to purchase from Stephen Girard, the block from Eleventh to Twelfth and Chestnut to Market Streets. The price was to be silver half-dollars

covering the tract, laid flat. This offer Stephen Girard would accept solely upon the condition that the half-dollars be set on edge.

Two motives probably influenced Joseph Bonaparte to settle in New Jersey. One was the sentiment of his brother Napoleon, who had once said in the presence of Joseph that in case of failure of his plans and the need of flight he would locate his home somewhere between Philadelphia and New York, where, said Napoleon, pointing to a map, "I can receive the earliest intelligence from France by ships arriving at either port." The other was the evident willingness of the Legislature of New Jersey to pass an enabling statute permitting an alien to hold land in fee simple. Unquestionably Joseph Bonaparte had selected Trenton as his future home, he having negotiated for a house in that city. The greed of the land-owners, and the fact that Commodore Charles Stewart urged the claims of Bordentown, influenced Joseph Bonaparte in favor of the latter place. During the autumn of 1816 and the spring of 1817 the ex-King of Spain, through agents, acquired title to about one thousand acres of land lying on the bank of Crosswicks Creek, between its former mouth and the village of Groveville. This estate, known as "Point Breeze" and "Bonaparte's Park," had in part been located by Thomas Farnsworth in 1681, had been purchased from

the Farnsworths by Joseph Borden, thence had passed to his son-in-law, Joseph Douglass, who devised it to his son, George Douglass. In 1792 George Douglass made an assignment to Trenton's most famous merchant of Revolutionary times, Abraham Hunt, from whom the land passed into the control of Stephen Sayre, once private secretary to Benjamin Franklin and former high sheriff of the City of London. Although having experienced reverses, Sayre had been most instrumental in securing foreign aid and money for the cause of independence. The Sayre interests, together with a race track as a part of the realty, were transferred to Joseph Bonaparte in 1816, when Stephen Sayre ceased to occupy the property, subsequently dying at the home of his son, Samuel Wilson Sayre, of Brandon, Virginia. Thus before "Point Breeze" became the home of a King the property was historic.

With characteristic energy and the love of the beautiful that so marked the æsthetic rather than the military nature of Joseph Bonaparte he immediately adorned his new estate. Gardeners planted trees, laborers laid out several miles of carriage drives, while a frame house, in which Bonaparte—now known as the Count de Survilliers—resided, was removed and a substantial mansion, partially of brick and wood, was erected. From the cellar of this house an underground pas-

sageway, according to Major E. M. Woodward's "Bonaparte's Park and the Murats," was constructed, leading some fifty feet away to the bluff facing the creek. Many are the fanciful traditions told concerning this passageway, of its use in case ships of European powers should come up the Delaware in search of the ex-King of Spain, who roamed at will about the streets of New York and Philadelphia, and of the possibility of dark deeds being committed by those witty, agreeable, peace-loving gentlemen who brought to Quaker Bordentown so much French verve, spontaneity, and sunshine! The tunnel had its use—a ready means of conveying to the mansion the pipes of wine, casks of liquor, and such provisions as came from Philadelphia or later were brought by canal from New York.

But upon the 3d of January, 1820, an accidental fire destroyed a portion of the "elegant mansion of Joseph Bonaparte" while its owner was in Trenton. Fighting the flames by means of the primitive bucket brigade, in which the women of the village assisted, the citizens of Bordentown were enabled to save much of the articles of furniture, ornaments, paintings, plate, jewels, linen, books, and money, of which there was a great store in the mansion, and all of which was returned to the Count de Survilliers intact. For these services the distinguished Frenchman highly compli-

mented the "dignity" of the townspeople and their appreciation of the fact that "true greatness is in the soul." The ruins of the house, which stood near the main entrance to the park, were pulled down, leaving standing only a stone-enclosed observatory.

In the erection of a new home the Count de Survilliers exceeded the elegance of any mansion in the State. Converting a stable, which stood in front of his former residence, into dwelling purposes, his dwelling, says Woodward, "was plain, long, and rather low, and of brick covered with white plaster." Liveried servants stood by the carved folding doors at the entrance, while within was a wide hall and staircase, a state dining room, art gallery, and library, with a wealth of sculpture, of paintings by old and modern masters, of hangings in gold, and of tapestry fringed with silver—in short the home of a prince, where hospitality, princely in name and in fact, was dispensed to the unbounded admiration even of those Americans accustomed to the display of European courts. Through the park, whose drives of twelve miles amid statuary were like those of the Escorial grounds,—a remembrance of the ex-King's life upon the throne in Madrid,—were rustic cots, rain shelters, and bridges. From a tidal lagoon the Count de Survilliers created a lake half a mile in length, erected a causeway on the Tren-

ton road, leading a drive over a costly arch. Around the lake a carriage way opened vistas of beauty—now a glimpse of the sun-lit Delaware, there among the trees swans encircling islets, or the sound of laughter and song from those in a little fleet of boats as they accompanied the count upon those pleasure parties of which he was so fond.

Near the residence of the count stood the "Lake House," erected for Prince Charles and his wife Zenaide, and which was connected with the mansion of the Count de Survilliers by a subterranean passage, used by the princess, his daughter, when, during inclement weather, she visited her father. Another passageway with heavy doors led from the lake to the main house. As in the case of the "tunnels" associated with the mansion destroyed by fire there were various idle stories. How little foundation there was for rumor may be found in the Italian inscription which, by order of the count, was carved over the doorway of one of these passages:

Not ignorant of evil, I learn to succor the unfortunate.

Except for the absence of his beautiful but delicate wife, Marie Julie Clari, whose sister became the Queen of Sweden, and who, by reason of the severity of a sea voyage, was unable to join the count in his exile, Joseph Bonaparte was su-

premely happy in his new home. The presence of his eldest daughter, Zenaide Charlotte Julie, Princesse de Canino and Musignano, and wife of her cousin, Charles Lucien, son of Lucien Bonaparte, gave to the sumptuous entertainments of Count de Survilliers an air of graciousness that only such an accomplished woman could lend. While in America she read and translated Schiller's dramas. As a scientist and founder and president of several Italian scientific congresses, Prince Charles Lucien was best known as an ornithologist. Associated with him was the eminent naturalist, Alexander Wilson, and in the many works of these two savants there are innumerable references to bird-life in the Delaware Valley. The contiguous "Pines," the natural habitat of rare species of birds, as well as the Crosswick meadows, the division line between the distribution of the Carolinian and Appalachian fauna, were thoroughly explored by this princely student, whose days were spent in woods, on farms, and along streams in search of useful and curious information concerning birds and their modes of life. Of the children of the marriage of Prince Charles Lucien Bonaparte and Zenaide one was the Prince de Musignano, who inherited all the American realty of the Count de Survilliers except the farm at Groveville. Another child was the Marquise de Roccagiovine, another was the Com-



tesse Primole, while another was Napoleon Gregoire Jacques Philippe, who served in Mexico under Marshal Bazine.

The youngest daughter of the Count de Survilliers was Charlotte, who married her cousin, Napoleon Louis, Grand Duc de Cleves et Berg, who, under the regency of his mother, was for a short time recognized as King of Holland. The grand duke was also a man of scientific attainments.

In personal appearance the Count de Survilliers had, in spite of a tendency toward corpulency, a graceful figure. He was of less than medium height, and by his temperance, keeping seasonable hours and constant exercise, he preserved to its full a strong constitution. He much resembled his brother Napoleon, having a complexion "peculiar and striking, as smooth and transparent as a woman's."

Of his life at Bordentown it may be said that it combined the elements of leisure, usually dignified, the study of men, books, art, and nature, and a willingness to disclose the splendors of his home to the humblest as the most conspicuous of his friends and acquaintances. Whether throwing apples and oranges upon the ice when skaters sought his lake, presenting Christmas gifts to the poor, giving work to a small army of retainers whom he employed, or welcoming Lafayette, Clauzel, Lallemand, Desnouettes, Henry Clay,

Daniel Webster, John Quincy Adams, General Winfield Scott, Commodore Charles Stewart, Commodore Robert F. Stockton, or members of the government of the State of New Jersey, there was always in his every act the spirit of the King, a gracious, generous monarch who had fallen upon sad days. Whatever bitterness, whatever sorrow, there was in his heart he kept to himself. Of pastimes he was perhaps fondest of billiards, and played the game in the old fashioned way. It was a delight for him to teach this sport to those young Americans who came to his house, and one of his apt pupils was the late Colonel Morris R. Hamilton, for many years librarian of the State of New Jersey.

It was in 1824, upon the occasion of General Lafayette's visit to America, that the Count de Survilliers welcomed the guest of the nation, who had left Philadelphia by steamboat. He also later entertained General Lafayette, who had received an ovation in Trenton, and who spent a night at the park after a wildly enthusiastic reception at Bordentown. It was at Point Breeze that Joseph Bonaparte refused the proffer of the crown of Mexico, saying that he had worn two crowns, but "would not take a step to wear a third." Profoundly impressed by the republican institutions of the United States, he told the deputation: "I do not think that the throne you wish to raise again

can make you happy," and advised the Mexicans to copy the policy of their neighboring republic. Here too, when in exile, came Napoleon III, who resided during a part of the year 1837 in New York City.

The accession to the French throne of Louis Philippe was the signal for the granting of partial pardon to those of the Napoleonic dynasty who had been expatriated. Under such circumstances the Count de Survilliers visited Europe in 1832, receiving upon the occasion of his departure from Bordentown and Philadelphia the assurances of the high consideration in which he was held by the people, who had learned to know and appreciate him. But once in Europe, he was subjected to the bitterest attacks, his motives were ignorantly misinterpreted or wilfully misunderstood, and, seeking consolation in America, he returned to Bordentown in 1837. For two years he travelled extensively and prepared for a return to England, where he went in 1839, dying during 1844, in Florence, Italy, at the age of seventy-six.

The death of the Count de Survilliers devolved upon his grandson, Joseph Lucien Charles Napoleon, Count de Musignano, the ownership of all the realty of Joseph Bonaparte in America except a farm of two hundred and fifty acres near Groveville, which the Count de Survilliers gave by will to Louis Maillard. Succeeding his grandfather,

the Count de Musignano, "Prince Joseph," as he was called, resided in Bordentown at the "Park" until the time of the Revolution of 1848, when he returned to France. But "Prince Joseph," who did not care for the farms, or in fact for America, sold one part of the estate and then another until August 11, 1847, when the "Park" was sold to Thomas Richards. In 1850 Point Breeze was purchased by Henry Beckett, British consul at Philadelphia, a son of Sir John Beckett, of Somerby Park, Lincolnshire, England, and a direct descendant of Deputy Governor Andrew Hamilton, of Pennsylvania. It was Mr. Beckett who destroyed the Bonaparte house and erected nearby a then modern structure, which after various vicissitudes is now occupied by the priests of the congregation of the mission of Saint Vincent de Paul, whose head house and missionary center is in Germantown, Philadelphia. By these priests the "Park" is used as a place of recreation and has been improved, attempts having been made to restore some of the former beauties of the estate.

Into the life of the sedate, the elegant, the accomplished Count de Survilliers dashed the figure of his nephew, the reckless, dare-devil, money-wasting Napoleon Francois Lucien Charles, Prince Murat, son of Joachim Murat, King of the Two Sicilies. To this kingship Joachim Murat, son of an innkeeper, had risen from a sub-deacon-

ate in the church, and until he became the favorite of Napoleon Bonaparte, whose sister Caroline he married, had been lieutenant of chasseurs, waiter in a restaurant, and then lieutenant of cavalry. When the empire Murat rose to marshal prince, King of the Two Sicilies, commander of the "grande armée" in its retreat from Russia, and at last was court-martialed and shot by Italians, while he was attempting to stir the peasants to insurrection.

In 1803 Prince Murat was born, and having practically attained his majority, followed the fortunes of his uncle and came to America. Settling first near Columbus, New Jersey, he soon purchased the "Roebuck" plantation near the park, where he lived in a house built upon the plan of an Italian villa. Subsequently he resided on the Chesterfield road, but the home best known was "Murat Row," on the edge of the Park, now used for tenements, but which in its day, with stuccoed front dormer windows and abundance of shade, was, as it yet is, one of the "lions" of the village. Then the old, old story was told, this time to Miss Caroline Georgina Fraser, daughter of Major Fraser, of the British army. The usual private marriage followed, performed by the Rev. Frederick Beasley, rector of Saint Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church in Trenton and father of the late chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court.

Mercer Beasley. Both the prince and his American princess were handsome, both charming. But neither family was satisfied. The Bonapartes said that Murat should have married one of his cousins in Europe; the Frasers took exception to the idiosyncrasies of the prince. His serene highness would go deer hunting in the "Pines" and make champagne punch in a bucket; he had spent seventy thousand dollars in farming and raising or trying to raise horses, dogs, and cattle. He had the unfortunate habit of sitting by the roadside and gambling with hostlers, of throwing gold half eagles into barrooms, or curing balky horses by setting fire to wisps of straw placed under them. He was always in debt, and had wasted his sister-in-law's fortune in a chimerical scheme to build a city on the Black River in New York. From Joseph Bonaparte Prince Murat obtained money, while his wife conducted a private school, and in these ways they were able to keep a pretence of princely dignity, and thus enabled the prince to visit France upon several occasions. Here, after the election of Louis Napoleon to the presidency of France in 1849, Murat became senator, and in 1860 put forth a claim to the kingship of the Two Sicilies. With him during these years, when he had spent his money, his devoted wife lived, sharing his fortunes, until their deaths in 1878.

All is passed of those glorious days, when a King lived in Bordentown. The end indeed came in 1845, when the auctioneer's hammer scattered much of the rare furniture, now so greatly prized, the statuary, paintings, books, the china plate and cut glass, that made the "Park" an enchanted spot. The good old King has gone, the roystering prince, the faithful Maillard, the student Prince Lucien, who kept his birds by the lake—all have crumbled into dust. Time has broken out the windows of the houses in the "Park," the lake is a morass, vines creep along the roads. There are only echoes of splendor of a kingly court far more brilliant than that held by the Earl of Stirling at Basking Ridge, by Governor Livingston at "Liberty Hall," by the Stocktons at Morven—the triune homes of abounding hospitality in the early days of New Jersey.

And when years ago some one said: "Never has been seen such magnificence in New Jersey," it was one of the most distinguished men of the State, Commodore Stockton, who replied: "Ah! but who could hope to rival a King?"









**T**HE twenty years of prosperity following the panic of 1817 marked what may be termed the secondary period of the economic development of New Jersey. It was the time

when industrial centers became distinctive, when men for love of gain, or hoping to exercise latent talent, or tiring of the monotony of rural life, or dreaming of vast futures, shifted slowly from the farm to the shop, bringing with them, however, manners, customs, and habits of their former lives. Villages and towns were taking upon themselves minor urban phases of life, but they were still villages and towns. There was much conservatism, and every industry, while nominally clothed with corporate powers, had the characteristics of the copartnerships of the rural blacksmiths or carriage makers. There were some who, unconsciously, were preparing themselves to be *entrepreneurs*, a few foresaw the coming of the industrial specialist, none was fitted to examine clearly the future microscopic divisions of labor. Thus far had the industrial situation developed that a few young men from each small community, whose places could readily be taken by others, left the old homes. All farms were occupied, except those abandoned on account of being unprofitable, or whose owners had caught the spirit of the Western movement, and had followed the

lines of emigration through Central New York State, or had reached Ohio and Indiana by way of Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and the Ohio River.

Except in rare instances the manufactories were insignificant. Every industry in the State could have been crowded into a city the present size of New Brunswick, Atlantic City, Orange, Bayonne, or Passaic. Few establishments contained above a score of employees. No legislation regulating the number of hours constituting a day's work, sanitation, stated payment of wages, or the responsibility of the master as to the use of dangerous machinery had yet been enacted in New Jersey. The men and the superintendent or overseer met upon even ground. The chief owners often worked at the machines, while the common law, governing the relations of master and servant, only slightly modified, prevailed. It has been truthfully said that there was no hard and fast line drawn between country and city life. With no congestion of population there were no wage workers, as in England, upon the verge of pauperism, nor were there vast and constantly increasing fortunes accumulated by successful manufacturers. Men of mental nobility turned from the farm to the shop and back again to the fields, or went from one trade to another with varying degrees of success. Women were practically unknown in any factory or mill, being kept out of such work by the pow-

erful influence of custom, by distressingly low wages, and by their lack of capacity necessary to change from domestic relations to those of the shop.

From Europe had come between 1817 and 1837 the first flood of emigration. The pioneers to New Jersey were few in numbers and were readily assimilated. In the main they were Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen, speaking the English language, and were acquainted with the spirit, if not the letter of our laws. Here and there an emigrant from one of the small independencies now merged into the German empire could be found. He, too, was soon a part and parcel of the life of the community. No one even suggested the possibilities of a vast emigration of the Romance, Slavonic, and Hebraic peoples, who later added so materially to the growth of the cities, and contributed so largely to the sudden change in the industrial conditions in the State.

As the public mind slowly absorbed the corporate idea the list of manufactories, many of which were upon paper, increased in length. But with the changing conditions came the fever of speculation, which in New Jersey, as elsewhere, found one form of expression in the "silk worm craze." Stimulated by a State bounty of fifteen cents per pound for cocoons, there had been planted in New Jersey, by 1838, no less than two hundred thou-

sand *morus multicaulus*, or mulberry, trees, of which probably twenty thousand were near Burlington. Enthusiasts had attempted to show that land of little value, particularly in the southern part of the State, could raise two hundred to three hundred pounds of cocoons at a profit of from forty to fifty dollars per acre. This would give, perhaps, twenty to twenty-five pounds of reeled silk. Under such alluring prospects, during the years 1836, 1837, and 1839, the Bergen, Burlington, Canton, Elizabethtown, Morris, Warren, Trenton, and Salem silk companies were incorporated.

The craze, which in its intensity rivaled the tulip mania of Holland, spread throughout the State. Upon nearly every farm and plantation were long rows of the *morus multicaulus*, each of which trees had been cut into as many pieces as there were trunk buds, each bud producing a tree to be similarly treated. A simple calculation in arithmetical progression would demonstrate, at the rate of reproduction, that in a decade the acres of tillable land in New Jersey would be insufficient to contain so vast a forest. Attention was mainly given to tree growing, while practically little interest was taken in the production of the silk worm.

Such improvidence led to but one result—a total abandonment of the enterprise. The explosion of the bubble was sudden and severe. Field after

field of mulberry trees, few of them attaining a size greater than that of a stalk of Indian corn, but which in midsummer gave promise of great wealth for their owners, were ruthlessly cut down and burned before winter came.

Between 1823 and 1836 glass companies were organized in Columbus, Bridgeton, Dennisville, and Jersey City. In 1833 a paper company was incorporated at Hanover. In 1837 the New Jersey Gum Elastic Company was chartered, and in 1839 the Somerville Pin and Type Company had authorized existence. In 1828 the Trenton Calico Printing Company, and in 1837 the Trenton Flax Company received legislative sanction.

Then it was that history repeated itself. The vast revenues obtained by sales of the public land, owing to the extension of good roads and railways as well as the flow of emigration, and the Calhoun surplus revenue "loan" of thirty-six million dollars to the States, after the federal debt had been extinguished in 1836, created a feeling of false security. Under the policy of the "strict constructionists" this surplus revenue had been deposited in State banks selected by the national administration—its "pets," as such institutions were called, which were subjected to little or no inspection on the part of the State or federal authorities. Bank notes were issued with a recklessness only equaled by that in the days of the Revolution,

and as money, of a kind, was plentiful speculation siezed upon all men. The real crisis came with the issuance of the "Specie Circular" of 1836, whereby agents for the sale of government land were permitted to take nothing but gold and silver in payment for such lands. From the eastern cities there was a movement of "hard money" to the West and with the return of paper in payment came the culmination of events which immediately precipitated the "panic of 1837."

In both Philadelphia and New York there was great distress. Fortunes were swept away; the poor actually starved upon the streets. To relieve the misfortunes of the nation there was some talk of anarchy, while the Legislatures of the States were deluged with plans, many of which savored of charlatanism. In New Jersey, although there was no open violence, Governor Pennington, in a warning message to the Assembly and Council, said that the wildest schemes and doctrines had been permitted to pass unrebuked until they had almost acquired the dignity of truth.

In New Jersey the panic put a most effective quietus upon the incorporation of companies, particularly as in 1839 a panic of minor importance followed its greater prototype. It was not until 1845, with the resumption of industrial activity,



that the chartering of companies became a feature of each legislative session.

Normal economic conditions had been quite restored by 1844, in which year was issued from the press Barber and Howe's "Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey." Therein is presented a mass of valuable if somewhat ill-arranged material relating to the State. Possibly the chief value of the work is a current review of the industrial conditions of New Jersey, giving statistical information as to the location of the various industries based upon the personal investigations of the compilers and upon the federal census of 1840. Such industries as had survived the shock of 1837 were, to a large degree, permanent, and from the resumé it is learned that throughout the southern portion of the State the glass industry had sustained its early development. In Atlantic County there were two glass houses, one at Esterville and another at Hammonton. Over the Cumberland County line, at Port Elizabeth, German blowers had produced window glassware, while at the "Head" of Tuckahoe River were the works at Marshallville. In Millville, now conspicuous as a manufacturing community, there were five glass factories, while in the County of Gloucester, at Glassboro, the Stangers, skilled artisans, had long been residents. At Malaga there was a glass works. Winslow had three factories,

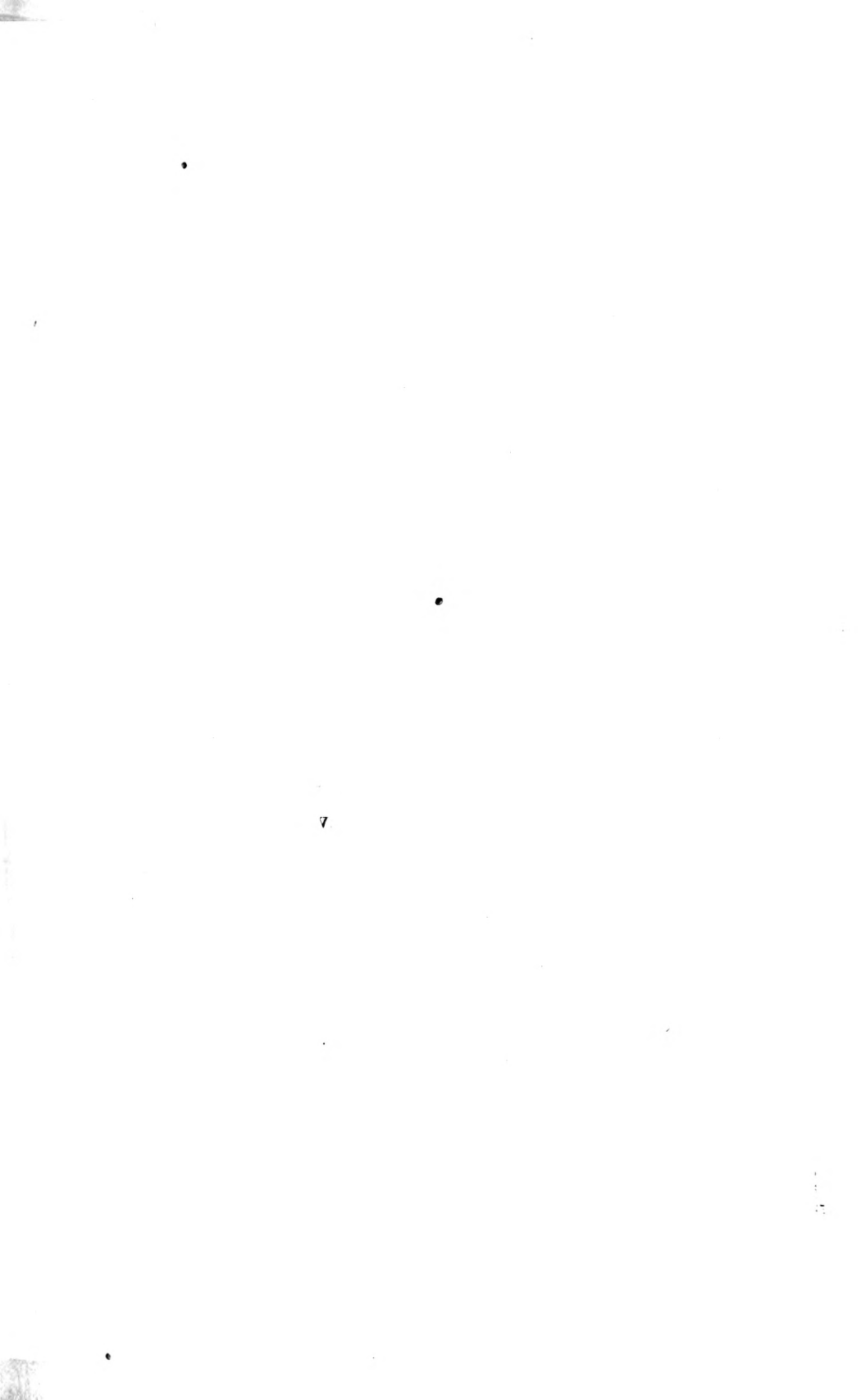
and the industry had met with varying degrees of success at Clementon, Seven Causeways, and Williamstown. Far from these, and strictly isolated from the center of the industry, the Jersey City Glass Company had engaged in an enterprise new to that section of the State.

The stamp of economic death, by reason of competition caused by the growth of the industry in Northern New Jersey, had been placed upon the "bog iron" forges, furnaces, and bloomeries of the central and southern counties. But at Weymouth, in Atlantic County, there was still an iron furnace and forge, while scattered through Burlington were the iron works at Mary Ann, Batsto, Martha, Speedwell, and Union. At Bridgeton was a large foundry and nail factory, but the fires at Ætna furnace, near Tuckahoe, were turning to ashes. At Millville, however, the iron works were in active operation, while in the limits of Ocean and Monmouth, comprising Old Monmouth, were the works at Phoenix, Manchester, Dover, Ferrago, Howell, Shrewsbury, and Allaire. But in the northern portion of the State nearly every town of importance had become an iron manufacturing center. Jersey City had two foundries, while Morris County was covered with forges and foundries. Of these works the most conspicuous was that of the East Jersey Iron Manufacturing Company, at Boonton, where,

erected in 1830 at a cost of \$283,000, a plant annually produced one thousand tons of malleable iron. There was also a sheet mill. Pig iron of a yearly value of forty thousand dollars was manufactured, while the output of wrought iron was estimated to be worth two hundred and eighty thousand dollars per annum. To the employees, largely Englishmen, two hundred thousand dollars was paid yearly in wages. In old Hanover Township, in Morris County, there were five forges; in Morristown were the Speedwell Iron Works; in Pompton there were two forges, employing two hundred and fifty men; in Rockaway were two rolling mills, a steel furnace, an iron foundry, and a machine shop; in Dover was a chest for converting steel; in Roxbury was a forge; and in old Jefferson Township were eleven iron works. There were forges at Ringwood, Boardville, West Milford, and Wynockie. Into Sussex the iron makers had gone, and forges had been erected at Byram, Waterloo, Andover, Culver's Gap, Hardiston, and Hamburg. At Sparta there was an anchor factory and at old Ogdensburg hollow ware stoves were made. In Warren County there were forges at Harmony, Belvidere, and Hackettstown, the latter having a cupola, while Oxford furnace was credited with eight hundred tons of pig iron per annum. There were two foundries at Lambertville.

The cotton industry was more evenly distributed. At Pleasant Mills, Atlantic County, there was a factory, and at Almonesson, in old Gloucester, a factory had twelve hundred spindles and sixty power looms. Bloomsbury, Hunterdon County, was a small center of cotton manufacture; there were four factories in Hanover Township, Morris County, and a factory in Marksboro, Warren County. The centers of this industry, however, were in the Counties of Bergen, Essex, and Passaic. In Franklin Township, Bergen County, were six plants, while other establishments were in Belleville, Bloomfield, and Caldwell. Paterson boasted of nine cotton mills, the manufacture thereof having been one of the objects for which the "Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures" most strenuously contended. Not far away, at Acquackanonk, there was a factory, as well as in the more distant towns of Whippany and Mendham.

Capitalists in the southern counties, however, had devoted themselves more particularly to the development of the woolen industry. At Mount Holly, Bridgeton, in Deptford Township, Good Intent, and Mullica Hill, in old Gloucester County, at Swedesboro, and in Ewing Township, near Trenton, there were woolen factories. Allentown had a factory, as had Mendham in Morris County, Paterson, and Asbury.





The manufacture of paper was conducted at points widely separated throughout New Jersey. In Franklin Township, Bergen County, there were five mills, while in Burlington County there were mills at Mount Holly and at McCartyville, near Shamong. Bloomfield was represented in the industry with three plants, and Springfield, Essex County, had ten mills of like character. In Trenton there were three factories. South Amboy, Monroe and Bridgeton possessed one each. The manufacturing township of Hanover in Morris was credited with three and Whippany with four mills.

Fulling mills were located in Mount Holly, Belleville, Bloomfield, Caldwell, and Paterson, while of the lesser industries along the upper Delaware Valley there were oil mills at Little York, Bloomsbury, Clinton, Prattsville, and Readington Township in Hunterdon County, and at Greenwich, Warren County. There were clover mills at Deckertown, Marksboro, and Knowlton, plaster mills at Mount Holly, Prattsville, Asbury, and Marksboro, while potteries were located at Jersey City, Newton, Camden County, Trenton, Hillsboro, Rahway, Perth Amboy, and Roxbury Townships, Morris County. Burlington, most of whose mechanics were pledged to total abstinence, and supported two large beneficial societies, was engaged in the making of shoes, Fairfield in Cum-

berland County had an oakum factory, Plainfield and Red Bank manufactured hats, Allertown in Hunterdon County and Chairville, in Burlington County, had chair factories, Trenton supported tanneries, a rope walk, and a brewery, Perth Amboy a lock factory, and Spottswood was prominent for its snuff and cigars. Bound Brook had a hay press and shipped grain to New York; Branchville, Sussex County, and Lodi, Bergen County, had cloth dyeing plants.

The products of the woods and fields were sent to market through a Pittsgrove mill for grinding sumach leaves, used in the leather trade, peat was dug in Union County, and herd grass was shipped to New England from Salem County.

Of the shipbuilding towns, from which cord wood was still sent for fuel to the markets of Philadelphia and New York, there were Mays Landing, Tuckerton, Lumberton, near which were the Shreve Mills, now Smithville, and Howell's Mills at Retreat, Dennisville, Squan, Bridgeton, where in 1779-1780 the letter-of-marque, "Governor Livingston," was built by the Whigs of Cumberland and Salem Counties, Tom's River, Shrewsbury, and Allowaystown, whose white oak rivaled that of Florida.

Moreover the industries of the State were establishing the later industrial reputation of Newark and its vicinity. Here were fashioners of precious



metals, skilled mechanics who worked in leather, brewers, and carriage manufacturers. One million five hundred thousand dollars represented the capital invested—a very large sum sixty years ago. The adjacent town of Bloomfield had a dye and print works and Bloomfield a copper rolling mill and a button factory. Rahway was industrially active with her factories for clothing, hats, stoves, calico printing, and satinet making.

Henceforth New Jersey was to take her place among the great manufacturing States of the Union, and, by reason of her location near the great markets of the Atlantic seaboard, to become a moving power in the industrial development of the United States.







**T**HE spirit of constitutional reform, which led New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Delaware, South Carolina, and Georgia to amend their declarations of organic law before the end of the eighteenth century, left its impress upon the legislative and judicial history of the State of New Jersey. Although the controversy concerning the evident defects in form and substance of the constitution of the State of New Jersey adopted in Burlington, July 2, 1776, led to no alteration of that document, it brought forward arguments which were later used with such telling effect on the constitutional revision of 1844.

One of the rarest of New Jersey publications is a duodecimo of one hundred and fifty pages, printed in Trenton by G. Craft during the year 1799. The title is "Eumenes," its author, William Griffith, a distinguished lawyer of Burlington, its object the "exhibiting some of the more prominent errors and omissions of the Constitution of New Jersey \* \* \* and to prove the necessity of calling a convention for revision and amendment." "Eumenes," in part had for several years appeared in a series of papers in Day's *Gazette*. Of these weekly productions William Griffith, in his own copy of "Eumenes," said: "I wrote these papers *currente calamo*, so far as respects the style, having no leisure to correct the

first expressions, but the reasonings were the result of research and experience. These papers," continued the author, "excited considerable attention to the subject, as will appear from many public proceedings, but every hope finally sunk under the effects of ignorant distrust and designing party."

From the adoption of the constitution the precipitancy in its creation and unfitness in its structure rendered it subject to adverse criticism, which, however, for years spent itself in solitary murmurs or fireside animadversions. Although the need of alteration was evident to students of political conditions a series of causes had retarded the attainment of this end. In the struggle for liberty in New Jersey slight regard was paid to the forms of a constitution or the "comparisons of theories, which were to secure internal liberty not yet won." The peace of 1783 was followed by a season of experimentation in repairing the ravages of war, in restoring public order, in financing and in removing or palliating the embarrassments of the life of the people. Then followed the crisis of the confederacy with its "frightful picture of bankruptcy, disunion, and dissolution," closing with the establishment of a federal government. Scarcely had the people of New Jersey an opportunity to enjoy the blessings of a firm and responsible administration of na-

tional affairs ere European complications diverted the attention of New Jersey from internal matters, and particularly from a revision of the constitution of the State.

During the November session of the Legislature in 1790 the subject was discussed, and, according to Griffith, four propositions were presented by the opponents of the proposed convention. It was first suggested that the "charter" had been fairly and freely chosen by the people, and therefore possessed "a presumption of fitness." To this was added the plea that, bad as the constitution proved to be, it was possible to make it worse. Thirdly, the Legislature's right to call a convention was questioned; and, fourthly, the existence of "considerable errors" was broadly denied.

The inherent weakness of these arguments is presented at length in "Eumenes." Griffith is strenuous in his denial that the constitution was the free act of the people. A document drawn up in eight days during a session of a temporary Legislature gave neither time for discussion nor were the members of the Provincial Congress infallible. While the constitution must be considered obligatory, as adopted by the authority of the people, it was in no sense, by reason of its incompleteness, permanent. Indeed its sole reason for being was to be found in the resolution of the Continental Congress, which called upon each of

the colonies to devise a temporary government for itself.

The design of the members of the Provincial Congress was to create a form of government which would save from anarchy when the alternatives of violent disruption from the crown or abject submission to ministerial tyranny were offered the people of New Jersey. Indeed the Provincial Congress itself was chosen by a minority of the people, while only thirty-five of the sixty-five delegates voted for or against the adoption of the State constitution. Nor was there in the Provincial Congress a representation by population. Cape May had five members with a population of twenty-five hundred to offset an equal number of representatives from Hunterdon with over twenty thousand, or five from Sussex with nearly twenty thousand.

To the claim that revision might lead to the assumption of greater evils the author of "Eumenes" shows that the experience of South Carolina, Maryland, Georgia, Vermont, Massachusetts, and particularly Pennsylvania produced no public disaster, and that the people of New Jersey could be equally trusted. In 1790, when the failure to secure revision turned upon "a scramble about the senatorial appointments in Congress," and in 1797, when the Legislature brutally refused to submit the question of revision to



a vote of the people, both failures were chargeable to the intense conservatism or selfishness of the legislators. Indeed, among a multitude of wise sayings and adages warning against innovation an objector to the proposed convention quoted the fable of the fox and geese, in which he compared an advocate for change to a fox and the Legislature to a flock of geese!

To the remaining objections Mr. Griffith cited the provision of the federal constitution that each State was guaranteed a republican form of government, and claimed by his subsequent argument that the constitution was by no means perfect in form and substance.

Against the terminology of the constitution, in the constant use of the word "colony," and the recognition of a provincial form of government under the British crown, the batteries of "Eumenes" were next directed. This was upon the contention that the form of the government should be adapted to its actual political conditions. The Legislature, in 1777 and in 1783, did violence to the charter when, without submitting proposed changes to the people, acts were passed substituting the word "State" for "colony," while in the case of the great seal a legislative committee took this action without any authority whatever. But more important was the unwise provision which directed that the Legislature

meet annually upon the fourth Tuesday in October, a period of vast importance to the farmer, who could ill afford to leave his garnered crops and delay providing the home against the inclemencies of the winter season.

Nor were the ten days intervening between the close of elections and the meeting of the Legislature sufficient time for the members to prepare for a journey and reach the seat of government. During twenty years the Legislature contained on an average eighteen new members a year out of a total representation of fifty-two, and in the ten days members had not the opportunity to become acquainted with the needs of the State, and were consequently ill prepared to take part in discussion. Added to this was the expense of the consequent adjourned session, which expense could well be diverted to public improvements.

The question of female suffrage was a mooted one in the interpretation of the constitution. The fourth article of the organic law, in adjusting the elective franchise relative to voting for members of the House of Assembly, said "All inhabitants of this Colony of full age," etc. Immediately a diversity of practice arose, and women were accepted or rejected as it suited the views of election officers. In towns women frequently voted, giving the centers of population an unfair advantage over the country. Griffith expressed himself

strongly when he said that "women, generally, are neither by nature, nor habit, nor education, nor by their necessary condition in society, fitted to perform this duty with credit to themselves, or advantage to the public." "It is," he added, "perfectly disgusting to witness the manner in which women are polled at our elections. Nothing can be a greater mockery of this invaluable and sacred right than to suffer it to be exercised by persons who do not even pretend to any judgment on the subject." Further, under the construction of the word "inhabitants," whose only limitation was a year's residence in the county, aliens were admitted to the franchise. Griffith estimated that five thousand aliens in New Jersey, or a fortieth of the total population, were thus affected, and that a portion of these, in turn, influenced elections, although the voters were often ignorant and insolent.

The author of "Eumenes" further argues that the framers of the constitution could not have foreseen that New Jersey would soon become "the rendezvous of aliens and the theater of foreign intrigue and influence." Under such conditions "the vilest of criminals, convicted and transported, by inhabiting one year in the State, and swearing true or false, that he is worth £50, stands upon as high ground of privilege as the most virtuous and useful citizens. \* \* \* Our

polls swarm with the very refuse of English, Irish, Dutch, and French emigrations and transportations, with the worst sort of people from the neighboring States, fugitives from justice, absconding debtors; and, in short, all people whom convenience, inclination, intrigue, or crimes induce to take footing in the State." Into this situation a number of the commonwealths fell, although various remedies were suggested and adopted by Pennsylvania, New York, Georgia, and Vermont. To correct the difficulty Griffith recommended that New Jersey enact in substance the laws of the United States regarding the qualifications of federal citizenship, and that the alien be likewise bound to allegiance to the State.

It will be seen, in recapitulation, that under the State constitution of 1776 all inhabitants of New Jersey who were worth fifty pounds, and resided in the county one year, were entitled to vote for State and federal representatives. This included all men, slaves or free, white or black, who were natives, as well as all unmarried native women. There were also aliens and subjects of foreign governments, not citizens of the United States, including convicts, fugitives from justice, and emigrants, including all persons from other parts of the United States, of every description. No oath of allegiance to the State or the United States was required. Those who desired to reform the con-

stitution contended that freemen only should be admitted to vote. These freemen should be native citizens of New Jersey or naturalized citizens of the United States, and be residents of the county for a reasonable time, pay taxes, or perhaps possess some other equivalent qualification. They should also be required to declare their allegiance to the State of New Jersey should occasion arise.

In the matter of establishing a property qualification as a prerequisite for the exercise of the suffrage the members of the Provincial Congress which met in New Brunswick upon January 31, 1776, found themselves confronted by a series of petitions which showed that the spirit of a wider extension of the franchise was permeating the province. From Somerset County came an address desiring that none but freeholders be admitted to vote for delegates to the Provincial Congress. To this Essex and Morris Counties added their voices, and further urged that money at interest and other effects bear an equal proportion of the taxes. "Sundry inhabitants of the County of Middlesex," as well as of the Township of Piscataway also petitioned that money at interest be taxed. To the matter of determining the qualification of voters during the session of the Congress the Monmouth County committee, upon February 13th, sent to Congress a remonstrance against any action whatever. A discussion occurred, and upon

the 16th of February the question was put to Congress "Whether every person of full age who hath immediately preceding the election resided one whole year in any county of this Colony, and is worth at least fifty pounds in real or personal estate, shall be admitted to vote in the County wherein he resides for representatives in the Provincial Congress or not?" The vote taken decided the matter in the affirmative, in which manner voted the Counties of Burlington, Cumberland, Essex, Gloucester, Hunterdon, Middlesex, Morris, Salem, and Sussex. In the negative were recorded Bergen, Cape May, Monmouth, and Somerset.

But few restraints were placed upon those chosen as members of the House of Assembly and Council. In each case the candidate was obliged to be an inhabitant and freeholder in the county where chosen, for one year previous to election. If elected to the Council he was required to be worth one thousand pounds within the same county, and if to the Assembly five hundred pounds. Under such conditions a person could be chosen who was under twenty-one years of age, who was neither a citizen of the United States nor a citizen of New Jersey, and who was not bound by an oath of allegiance to the State, as well as one who had been convicted of an infamous crime.

"Eumenes," in the discussion upon the provision of the constitution requiring property as a

qualification for electors, enters largely upon two objections. The article in the organic law said the electors should be "worth £50 proclamation money, clear estate." This provision was faulty; it did not prescribe by what evidence it should be ascertained that the voter was worth that sum. Under the oath administered: "I verily believe that I am worth £50 clear estate," a voter who knew that all the property he ever had was not worth that sum justified himself by saying that he valued *himself* at a great deal more than that amount, while other voters, less casuistical, supplied the word "of," taking their oath "of clear estate" instead of "clear estate." Under a legislative act the judges and inspectors of elections were authorized to administer to voters this oath to ascertain the fact of property. A lack of uniformity in practice led to perjury, corruption, partiality, and to the practical disenfranchisement of those who did not care to disclose their financial condition, including those who were traders, beginners in business, small farmers, and young professional men.

As a substitute for the property qualification Griffith recommended a system of justly assessed personal taxation to all who paid a share in government. The criterion of taxation as a basis of extension of the franchise had been

adopted by Pennsylvania, Delaware, South Carolina, New Hampshire, and Georgia.

The question of equality in representation had, under the constitution, been left to a majority of Council and Assembly, who were authorized to add to or diminish the number or proportion of the members of Assembly for any county. This rendered "the Legislature an improper depository of a franchise" when "means of persuasion, seduction, and imposition" were so well understood and so successfully practiced. In 1797 gerrymander was attempted, when, by act of March 8th, the representation of members of the Assembly from Hunterdon, Sussex, Cumberland, and Cape May Counties was so adjusted as to defeat a bill providing for the abolition of slaves. In a manuscript note by Griffith he adds: "The Representation in Council is not susceptible of alteration by the Legislature. Cape May must continue to send one member, and Hunterdon, Sussex, and Burlington cannot send more until the constitution shall be amended by a convention"; and although several constitutional changes have taken place the prophecy has yet failed of verification. Neither in the House of Assembly nor in the Council did the will of the majority of the people prevail.

It is a notable circumstance that the powers of the governor of New Jersey under the constitu-



tion of 1776 exceeded those of any officer of the same rank in the United States. There were no prerequisites of age, integrity, property, or citizenship. Only fourteen members on a bare quorum of the house and Council sufficed to select for the position a person who might have been a child, a bankrupt, an alien, or a criminal convict. In the supreme executive were lodged the duties of chancellor, captain-general, and commander-in-chief of all the State militia; and with his council he constituted a court of appeals. The dissimilarity and magnitude of these duties enhanced the difficulty of selecting a capable man for the position, while in the union of executive and judicial authority their incompatibility followed their joint execution. "In short," says "Eumenes," "you behold him brandishing the sword of war, then presiding in the seats of civil justice, now directing a court martial, and then pronouncing a decree in equity: to-day you see him gravely legislating in the council, and to-morrow he is expounding and putting into execution the law which he has made." To this was added the argument that the chancellor in the person of the governor held office only one year to the great injury of litigants, while the office was constantly exposed to the vicious attacks of unscrupulous legislators in attempting to reduce

salaries, while upon the other hand he was unimpeachable for misconduct.

The defects in the judicial system under the constitution of 1776 were no less apparent. Then, as now, "the rage for law making certainly surpasses all former example," throwing upon the courts the interpretation of much misconceived legislation. Under a system where the court of appeals with a large lay element was constantly changing, where the governor as chancellor was subjected to the possibilities of annual change, the judiciary could be neither independent, able, nor active. Thus in the case of *Stille v. Wood* it was determined that the governor was a member of the court, notwithstanding that when at the bar he was counsel in the cause below. This determination involved another difficulty, as fourteen members composed the court, creating a tie, and no decision could be had.

The excesses of the joint meeting called for the condemnation of Griffith. The members selected one another for important offices, while intrigues of a political character, the creation of new, useless, and expensive county offices, the fifty instances of abolition of trial by jury under statute between 1790 and 1800, were but a few of the results which came from commingling of the executive and legislative departments of the government.

Nearly half a century passed ere the faults displayed in "Eumenes" were partially rectified. Only the rare good sense of the people of the State in the selection of their officials saved New Jersey from that abyss of civil strife toward which Pennsylvania had plunged under similar constitutional conditions. It was largely the personality of the governors, the judges, and legislators that kept political demagogues from obtaining power and leaving behind them a trail of corruption. It was not due to any merit of the makeshift constitution of 1776.







**W**ITH the onward sweep of the democratic spirit in this period of political unrest no part of the machinery of State government had been left undiscussed or uncriticized. For many years the glaring errors of the fundamental law of 1776 had been recognized, and once more the arguments of "Eumenes," redressed, were brought forward in the demand for better things.

Of the objections to the old constitution the restriction of popular suffrage, on the basis of property qualification, was the one most frequently advanced. The governor, it was said, should be deprived of his power as chancellor, a power so easily abused. The inaccessibility of the court of errors and appeals owing to the intermingling of legislative and judicial functions, was still a further objection, while a cry went up that the council, filled with wealthy property owners, was a "rich man's club." In short the old constitution was better fitted for a proprietary colony than for a State whose republican institutions were guaranteed by the federal constitution.

The agitation, in which the State press, irrespective of politics, had taken an active part, culminated in the year 1843, when Daniel Haines, the last governor under the old constitution, and a Democrat, recommended in his message to the

Legislature that a constitutional convention be called. Following the suggestion of the governor, and requiring no spur of public sentiment, the election of delegates to the constitutional convention was held upon the 18th of March, 1844, under the provisions of an act of the Legislature, passed February 23, which was accompanied by a proclamation of Governor Haines.

The delegates chosen were sixty in number, distributed among the various counties in accordance with representation in the House of Assembly. From Atlantic County came Jonathan Pitney, from Bergen County John Cassedy and Abraham Westervelt. William R. Allen, Jonathan J. Spencer, Charles Stokes, John C. Ten Eyck, and Moses Wills were the delegates from Burlington County, while from Camden County came Abraham Browning and John W. Mickle. From Cape May County was Joshua Swain; from Cumberland County were Joshua Brick, Daniel Elmer, and William B. Ewing; while from Essex County, embracing Union County, were Silas Condit, Oliver S. Halsted, Joseph C. Hornblower, David Naar, William Stites, Elias Van Arsdale, and Isaac H. Williamson. John R. Sickler and Charles C. Stratton represented Gloucester County, and Robert Gilchrist came from Hudson County. The Hunterdon County delegation was composed of Peter I. Clark, David Neighbor, Jonathan Pickel,



and Alexander Wurts. Mercer County sent Richard S. Field, Henry W. Green, and John R. Thompson, and Middlesex County was represented by Moses Jaques, James Parker, Joseph F. Randolph, and James C. Zabriskie. Monmouth County, including Ocean County, elected Bernard Connolly, George F. Fort, Thomas G. Haight, Daniel Holmes, and Robert Laird, and Morris County sent to the convention Francis Child, Mahlon Dickerson, Ephraim Marsh, and William N. Wood. From Passaic County were Elias B. D. Ogden and Andrew Parsons; from Salem County Alexander G. Cattell, John H. Lambert, and Richard P. Thompson; and from Somerset County George H. Brown, Ferdinand S. Schenck, and Peter D. Vroom. The Sussex County delegation was composed of John Bell, Joseph E. Edsall, and Martin Ryerson, while that of Warren County contained Samuel Hibbler, Phineas B. Kennedy, and Robert S. Kennedy.

This was indeed a notable body of men. During the period of the Civil War John C. Ten Eyck was to sit in the United States Senate, as was John R. Thompson until his death in December, 1862. Alexander G. Cattell was later a federal senator. Mahlon Dickerson had already been from 1829 to 1833 a member of that body. Two ex-governors, Peter D. Vroom and Isaac H. Williamson, were among the number, while Charles

C. Stratton was to become the first governor of the State under the new document which he helped to prepare. Henry W. Green was soon to occupy the office of chief justice and later that of chancellor, which latter office was shortly to be filled by Oliver S. Halsted. Joseph C. Hornblower had long been chief justice of the Supreme Court, while of associate justices there were Daniel Elmer and Elias B. D. Ogden. Alexander Wurts, Abraham Browning, and Richard P. Thompson had been or were to be attorney-generals of the State, while many of the other members had sat in Congress or the State Legislature, and all were conversant with the needs of New Jersey.

Rarely if ever had so large, so able, a body met within the limits of the commonwealth, or a body more thoroughly patriotic. From the long but never acrimonious or personal discussions all partisanship was eliminated. The delegates had an eye single to the good of the State.

The convention met in Trenton upon the 14th of May, 1844, unanimously electing ex-Governor Isaac H. Williamson as its president; William Paterson, of Middlesex County, as its secretary; Thomas J. Saunders, of the County of Gloucester, as assistant secretary; and William Napton, of Trenton, as sergent-at-arms.

In the consideration of the business of the convention the delegates were divided into various

committees, each charged with consideration of the "respective parts of the constitution to be formed." Of the committee upon the legislative department the chairman was ex-Governor Peter D. Vroom; of the executive department the chairman was Joseph C. Hornblower; of the judiciary department the chairman was Elias Van Arsdale; of the appointing power the chairman was Mahlon Dickerson; of the right of suffrage the chairman was John R. Thompson; of the provision for future amendments the chairman was Joshua Brick; of the parts not referred to other committees the chairman was Jonathan J. Spencer; and of the bill of rights the chairman was James Parker.

Through the advocacy of the measure by David Naar stenographic reporters secured a complete record of the proceedings of the convention—the first instance of its kind in the State.

It was upon the 28th of June that the convention finished its labors, and upon that day the constitution was finally adopted, there being only one vote in the negative, which was cast by Silas Condit, of Essex County, while Charles Stokes, of Burlington County, member of the Society of Friends, received the unanimous consent of the convention that he be "excused from voting on account of the military features" in the fundamental law. Upon the same day President Isaac

H. Williamson, on account of physical infirmities which detained him at his home in Elizabeth, resigned his office, his successor being Alexander Wurts, who was unanimously selected. Immediately the constitution was engrossed on parchment by Eli Morris, ex-clerk of the Supreme Court, signed by the members, and by the governor placed in the custody of the secretary of state.

Upon the thirteenth day of August, 1844, the new constitution was submitted to the people of the State for ratification, but even among the conservative element in New Jersey, the friends of the old constitution were few. Of the twenty-seven thousand votes cast upon the question of adoption or rejection of the constitution but three thousand five hundred were recorded as opposed to any change.

For the first time the organic law of New Jersey recognized the distribution of the three great powers of government—executive, judicial, and legislative,—provided an article declaring the “Rights and Privileges” of the people of the State, distinguished the militia and civil officers in the scope of the appointing power and tenure of their offices, and provided the manner in which amendments should be made.

Of the old forms of government the new constitution made some radical changes. The election of governor was taken from joint meeting, lodged

with the people, and the term of office was extended from one to three years. He was deprived of the chancellorship, this office devolving upon a person especially appointed. The court of errors and appeals was no longer composed of members of Council (under the new constitution called Senate), but henceforth consisted of the chancellor, chief justice and associate justices of the Supreme Court and the so-called "lay" judges. To the masses the right of suffrage was secured. Under the new organic law the last cord which bound men to the doctrine of the political superiority of the landed proprietor was cut. New Jersey adopted the principle that every male citizen of the United States of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of the State one year, and of the county in which he claimed his vote five months, next before election, should be entitled to vote for all elective officers. Those to whom the right of suffrage was denied were paupers, idiots, insane persons, and unpardoned persons convicted of a crime which would exclude them from being witnesses, together with those barred by statute, after conviction for bribery.

In spite of the drastic changes, some of the spirit if not the letter of the constitution of 1776 remained. With the governor still rested the power of appointing the State judiciary, as well as many of the State officials, subject

to confirmation by the Senate, and also the prosecutor of the pleas (district attorney) of the various counties. Since the days of Queen Anne this practice had marked the policy of the colony and the State, as had been the doctrine of an appointive judiciary. New Jersey has never had an elective judiciary, except justices of the peace, nor have the people ever voted for State officials or for county officers, except sheriffs, clerks (registers of deeds), surrogates (registers of wills), coroners, and members of the boards of chosen freeholders (county commissioners).

In the distribution of the members of the Senate the power of the smaller counties influenced the convention to reject all propositions leading to the adoption of any plan providing for senatorial districts. County pride reflected the same sentiment prevailing in the days of the adoption of the federal constitution, when the smaller States fought for senatorial representation on a territorial basis.

In the main, however, the plan and scope of the constitution of 1776 had been abandoned, except so far as its spirit was sustained in preserving an appointive judiciary, in the manner of selecting State officials, and in designating senatorial representation by counties. The work of the constitutional convention of 1844 was first to eliminate and then to create. That this work was well done

has been shown, for with the exception of the amendments adopted in 1875 and 1897 the organic law of 1844 still remains the constitution of the State of New Jersey.









**O**F ALL the evils afflicting the body politic the condition of the dependent, defective, and delinquent classes throughout the State demanded the most immediate reform. The intense conservatism of the people of New Jersey had long made them deaf to the feeble cry for betterment that came from isolated groups of agitators. From England the State had inherited the system of public county jails, ostensibly designed for the safe-keeping of criminals, of the vagrant poor, and of poor debtors. But in New Jersey, as elsewhere, the practice had arisen of committing to jail those whose helplessness should appeal to every humane sentiment. No other channel being open, there drifted into the jails the insane, the idiotic, orphaned children, as well as aged men and women. Here were gathered the dregs of humanity, broken wrecks of once powerful minds and bodies, toddling boys and girls—cast into these cesspools of vice. Each jail was indeed Bedlam, rendered horrible by the intermingling of men and women hardened to vice, to whom rum was secretly supplied if they had money with which to pay the bills. In other words the general policy was to commit to the jail every one liable to become a State, county, or township charge. The food in the jails was usually poor and insufficient, and the ventilation and sanita-

tion indescribable. There were cultured the germs of disease, which not only decimated the inmates, but spread throughout the nearby territory. Yet no one was to blame. It was the fault of a system too thoroughly established for the binding conservatism of the time to alter. Nor was it until the advent of this era of remarkable intellectual activity that any permanent reform was advocated.

In the legislative year of 1837-38 the House of Assembly and Council took the first official notice of the disgraceful condition of affairs. Upon the 9th of April, 1838, a committee was appointed to gather statistics concerning lunacy and idiocy in New Jersey, to suggest effectual means of relief, and to ascertain if an asylum for the care and possible cure of the insane and idiotic were necessary. The members of this body were Lewis Condit, of Morris County, Augustus F. Taylor, of Middlesex County, Dr. Charles G. McChesney, of Mercer County, Lucius Q. C. Elmer, of Cumberland County, and Dr. L. A. Smith, of Essex County. In its investigations the committee found that there were in New Jersey three hundred and thirty-eight lunatics and three hundred and fifty-eight idiots, many of whom were roving at large or else confined in poorhouses and jails, as in the case of a twenty-eight-year-old woman in the Gloucester

County jail, who had been kept in chains for twelve years.

But the publication of this report and the hearty recommendation that an asylum be constructed failed to thoroughly arouse the State. It remained for a woman, Dorothea Lynde Dix, who but a few years ago died in Trenton, to awaken the public conscience and stir the laggard Legislatures to activity.

In that remarkable series of philanthropic visitations which she made throughout the United States Miss Dix inspected nearly all the jails and poorhouses of the State of New Jersey. She found a portion of the inmates plunged into a state of savagery. The blind and aged were unassisted, the children unschooled, deprived of religious instruction, and learning only the lessons of dependency and criminality. But, worse than all, those who were idiotic and insane were kept little better than wild beasts, sent to the county institutions because there was no other place of refuge, and fastened in cells because their keepers were either afraid of personal violence or did not want the trouble of giving them attention.

This dark picture of neglect was painted by Miss Dix in a "Memorial" to the Legislature of the State which she made late in the month of January, 1844. Her action had been taken largely upon her own responsibility, yet its very disinter-

estedness won for her "Memorial" a wide recognition. Her straightforward unmasking of evils, her enthusiasm for those who had no special pleader, and her wide sympathy appealed to the members of the Legislature and stimulated, as no official communication had done, a popular interest. Thus the "Memorial" easily took precedence over every State document of the period. It was in brief the presentation of a series of observations made upon the social condition of idiots, epileptics, and the insane poor in the State of New Jersey.

The argument of Miss Dix, leading to an imperative demand for the erection of a "State Asylum for Insane Persons," was based upon a request for the consideration of the *claims* "of this large and much neglected class of sufferers," and the asking that *justice* be done these "helpless, friendless men and women," who were lodged "in jails and poorhouses and wandering at will over the country. \* \* \* These, whether the subjects of public bounty or private charity, are inappropriately treated for recovery or injudiciously managed through ignorance or limitation of suitable means; thus they are left to exposures and sufferings, at once pitiable and revolting." Nothing, she continued, came from the report of the commissioners during 1839, and it was against a system, or lack of system, and not against individ-

uals, that the "Memorial" was directed. As a review also of the condition of jails and poorhouses in New Jersey during the middle of the century this report is of the highest value.

In Salem County, in an inconvenient but clean jail, there were no beds, as none were required by law. The poorhouse was well conducted, but the children were without schooling and religious instruction. Epileptics and insane were gathered in the building; one who had been crazy for thirty years had been out of his apartment "but ten times in more than nineteen years." A little cell, in which another maniac was chained by the leg, was warmed by a small stove pipe which passed through a corner of the room. Violent homicidal propensities were corrected by beatings, the keeper using a stick of wood for the purpose. In a basement of the poorhouse was a feeble old man, who through reverses had lost his property and had been committed as a pauper. For a while violently insane, he had been chained "for safety." Here ended the life history of one who had been a member of the bar, of the Legislature, and judge of the county court.

Similar conditions, but not so extreme, existed in the jails and poorhouses of the Counties of Cumberland, Cape May, and Gloucester. In the latter county the cells for the insane were under

the direction of a pauper, who was called the "keeper."

Owing to the difficulty of securing adequate arrangements the pauper insane of Burlington County were kept in "dreary confined cells, insufficiently lighted, insufficiently warmed, and pervaded with foul air to an intolerable degree." Their place of detention was the poorhouse. Near one of the poorhouses of the County of Monmouth was a small brick building, containing on the first floor two small cells, each having a straw bed, blankets spread upon the floor, with ring bolt and iron chains for securing the patient, while from another poorhouse in the same county one of the pauper insane had wandered away, and had been gone three months without any attempt being made to find him. In Middlesex County one of the poorhouses contained a crazy man who was chained "in a sort of box" or pen, while in another was a madman naked, except for a laced straight-jacket, raving in a cold, damp cell.

The Essex County jail contained offenders of both sexes, of all ages and nationalities. Indiscriminately thrown together, the jail, said Miss Dix, "was the primary school and the normal school for the State prison," confirming the vicious propensities and educating the criminal to more criminal enterprises. The poor, in certain



Essex townships, were "set off to the lowest bidder," or those who agreed to take them for a given time at the lowest rates. This system, if such it may be called, also prevailed in Mercer, Somerset, and Bergen Counties. In Elizabeth and Jersey City the situation was somewhat better, but in Passaic County the condition of the poorhouse was intolerable. "The occupied rooms were positively loathsome," and the place cost three thousand dollars per annum for its maintenance. The jails of Morris and Sussex Counties were in fair condition, but the poorhouse of Morris, with its cells "dark, damp, and unfurnished, unwarmed and unventilated," was a disgrace. From Warren and Mercer Counties the reports as to the condition of the jails were more encouraging.

The care of these unfortunate creatures could be no longer delayed. A commission to select a suitable site for an insane asylum having been appointed, a location in Ewing Township not distant, even then, from the limits of the City of Trenton was chosen. From the latter part of the year 1845 until the red sandstone building, with its Ionic porch, designed by Notman, was opened on the 15th of May, 1848, there was no lack of interest in a structure devoted to such novel uses. But from that group of fifty patients who first entered its portals in 1848 there has grown an army of nearly ten thousand,—those to whom the State has extended a lifting, helping hand.







**I**N THE midst of the turmoil, in the days of social unrest, rare indeed was the State in which some effort had not been made to establish a colony whose founders hoped thereby to accomplish the regeneration of the social order. To well-meaning men New Jersey offered an attractive field. In its very foundation leaders among its settlers had laid their town and plantation sites upon such lines. William Penn and his friends, in the settlement of Burlington, were moved by altruistic considerations, and saw arising in the wilderness of West Jersey a future state—an aristocratic democracy, if it may be so termed, wherein, by reason of the teaching of the Society of Friends, peace would reign forever. Nor were the Connecticut settlers of Newark less sincere. Theirs was a church militant, a State triumphant, the home of the elect, from which, by force of arms if necessary, the savage was to be reclaimed, the civilized world brought from sin to redemption, and a new order established in a new world. As both failed in the accomplishment of their ideals, so both succeeded—not objectively, but subjectively. Both left heritages in the permanence of certain forms of political institutions, but both solved problems—that of giving vigor to minds of different types, and urging onward souls who sought the same ends, but took differing ways.

Following the period of the Revolution, another religious movement, that of the oppressed and much maligned Moravians, was directed toward a change of social conditions. Although the abandoned community at Hope was Episcopalian in its form of church government its teachings were similar to those of the Society of Friends. In the correction of social evils both employed similar methods, but the world had gone beyond the quiet ways of the faithful, lovable followers of the leader, Count Zinzendorf, who had sought a new Bethlehem by the waters of the Lehigh.

The last of these movements in New Jersey, except there be eliminated the purely æsthetic and economic efforts of the late Charles K. Landis and his associates in Cumberland and Atlantic Counties, was a settlement projected in Monmouth County, about four miles from Red Bank, and which, while small, was none the less vociferous in its claims for recognition.

The era of unrest brought forward a score of schemes having for their object the uplifting of mankind. Ranging from crudest communism to scientific socialism, mixed with every form of religious belief or no belief at all, men were attracted hither and thither. Enthusiasts talked of "emancipation," of the "ideals of American government," of "effete European monarchies," and, unmindful that with a free constitution they were

able to effect reform, sought in segregation some plan to accomplish the change. Charlatanism ran riot, along with many an excellent idea, which, if properly considered and adopted, would have solved a part of the complex problem of existing civilization. But in the community idea then as now there lay the elements of failure. Society must be heterogeneous that it may work out its salvation—isolated groups, as groups, must ultimately be absorbed, no matter how powerfully the promulgation of their doctrines may affect the whole, either for good or ill.

Of all the chimerical schemes thus advanced that of the North American Phalanx was the most certainly doomed to death. While as a characteristic type of organization under the system advanced by Fourier—it had as long life as any of its associated Phalanxes—it was none the less so utterly at variance with the general trend of human activities that the wonder is it lasted throughout a decade.

This strange and almost forgotten community, which attracted much attention and gave Monmouth County a prominent if not an enviable place, grew out of the exposition of Fourierism made by Albert Brisbane in the columns of the *New York Tribune*. Fourier, like that other social regenerator of his day, George Lippard, was much of a mysticist. He wrote of the relation of “har-

monies," and drew into his movement such men as Greeley, Godwin, Worden, Channing, Ripley, and Macdonald, the "Old Mortality" of socialism, with many of lesser note. But from Brisbane's articles came the call for a convention, an act characteristic of the hour, which in August, 1843, assembled in Albany. Here it was decided by Fourier delegates from New York City, Catskill, and Brook Farm, the home of transcendentalism, that a new Phalanx must be established near New York. A location near Red Bank, a farm of no great value, was selected, and so active were the preparations made that in September of the same year the pioneers of the movement established themselves there and awaited the arrival of recruits. The newcomers, in 1844, swelled the settlement to ninety persons. Immediately the North American Phalanx fell upon evil days, nor could its optimism draw it from the heated discussion of the ever old and ever new contest between the policies of centralization, known in the economic slang of the day as "Civilizee," and individualism, otherwise called "Philansterianism." "Civilizee," which indicated a joint stock plan, prevailed. Then was announced to the world that in the North American Phalanx, near Red Bank, man could have freedom instead of chains, that he could develop by "the Divine harmony that comes through counterpoise" instead



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of growth through coercion. It was further enunciated that the Phalanx would endeavor to emancipate the individual "from the servitude of nature, from personal dominion, from social tyrannies," thus emerging into "all freedoms and the endowment of all rights pertaining to manhood, fulfilling his own destiny" in accordance with the laws written in his own organization.

The very haziness of these offers of rejuvenation were attractive; even if people did not know what the words meant they had a pleasing sound—a quality by no means solely characteristic of the North American Phalanx. Every member became his own employer, receiving for his labor as exact a share of the product as could be determined in a world where "there is no scientific unit of value." This led to a system of exchanging products or values on a basis of cost, giving what was called "the abstract or protean form of value."

Having airily disposed of this important economic problem, the Phalanx applied the "protean" idea to the domestic and social relations. It was held that ties could be formed "according to affinities of character"—and this led to scandal that was more than "protean." In the education of the young the Phalanx, whether by chance or design, sounded a true note. Such education was directed along lines which would

give the youth an insight "into the real business of life, the actual production and distribution of wealth, the science of accounts, and the administration of affairs." Furthermore a religious life was sought rather than a religious faith, so that "the soul shall attain to true equilibrium, and act normally in accordance with the Divine law, so that human life in all its powers and activities shall be in harmonious relations with nature and with the supreme center of life."

With such a propaganda the North American Phalanx entered upon its career with twelve subscribers and a fund of eight thousand dollars. On November 30, 1844, the Phalanx had acquired property to the value of twenty-eight thousand dollars, owing in capital stock and balances due members eighteen thousand dollars.

The energies of the "Phalanxers," as the members of the organization were locally known, were first devoted to farming, and then to the development of small manufacturing industries. But life was easy near Red Bank, and the Phalanx became a haven for people of eccentric tastes, men of strange fancies, honest enough, but misled. The women adopted trousers, over which they wore frocks reaching to the knee like a Highlander's kilt. In the common dining room the vegetarians had a table for themselves, the waiters were paid by the hour in proportion to the ex-

cellence of their service, while long-haired men, and women who had lived in other communities, talked of the possibilities of a new industrial life, and discoursed on every problem of man's existence from stirpiculture to spiritualism. But upon one subject all were agreed—that Horace Greeley was still sufficiently interested in the project to loan money to the Phalanx when other sources of supply had failed.

Thus through varying fortunes, for ten years, the Phalanx dragged along. From descriptive letters in the newspapers it is difficult to ascertain the true state of the community. Some said the members were happy; others were equally confident that they were miserable—and the latter were probably nearer the truth. All agree that the school did not reach the ideal, that the road to Red Bank was sandy, and that meal and labor checks were not legal tender in other parts of Monmouth County.

The Phalanx was not in a markedly prosperous condition when, for an unknown reason, some of its members withdrew, and at Perth Amboy, in 1853, established a short-lived Raritan Bay Association, a coöperative concern, but less communistic than the Phalanx. To this withdrawal was added a religious controversy, into which the "Phalanxers" plunged because they had little else to do. The effect was demoralizing. Added to the

community's troubles was the burning of its grist-mill in September, 1854, entailing an uninsured loss of ten thousand dollars. The moribund Phalanx breathed its last early in 1856, and a sort of economic post-mortem held by the editor of the *Social Revolutionist* gave the following causes of death: indifference and selfishness of non-resident stockholders, apathy on the part of the members of the community, neglect of the intellectual and aesthetic elements of life, the mill fire, and the establishment of Victor Considerant's colony in Texas.

Soon the main building and the school house were deserted. No longer young men awakened the older members by coming in late at night, of which there had been complaint in more prosperous days; no longer young girls in bloomers paddled their canoes in a little lake, or raked hay, ate chocolate cake, and danced on the Fourth of July; no longer old men at the blacksmith shop talked of social and governmental errors. It was the natural end of an attempt to regenerate mankind by methods at variance with the natural trend of the human mind.





**T**HE great era of reform had not only swept away some of the landmarks of secular life, but had even greatly disturbed the churches. One denomination at least had been rent asunder. With the promulgation of the views of Elias Hicks the Society of Friends, divided into two hostile camps, threw itself into the courts and began a policy of self-destruction as bitter as it was unfortunate. As in all such quarrels there were elements therein, both worldly and spiritual, which have never yet been settled and probably never will be adjusted. In New Jersey the contest raged with great vehemence. Families were separated upon the question of Unitarianism and Trinitarianism, young men and women left both societies never to return, while enfeebled meetings for worship sunk slowly until at last they were supported merely by a handful of faithful but aged followers of the teachings of Fox. But from the purely secular standpoint it may be said that the separation of the Society, in New Jersey as elsewhere, was an outgrowth of conditions as largely social as they were ecclesiastical. The Hicksite movement was a protest against conservatism. In a sense it was a demand that the Society conform to new standards which were being raised, that the barriers of exclusiveness surrounding the body be broken down. In New Jer-

sey the Methodist Episcopal Church, the sphere of whose influence was practically identical with that of the Society of Friends, had made great inroads upon its membership. A static religious life had given place to evangelization. The older but weaker Society in point of numbers could only hope to meet this more active rival by broadening itself, by becoming partially "institutionalized."

In the Society of Friends, by 1830, there was much formality. That which in the days of Penn had been "seemly" had become essential. Stress was laid upon the "cut" of garments, upon the shape of hats, upon the division of men and women in the meeting houses, upon the intensely technical points of doctrine, and even upon the methods used by preachers in the delivery of their sermons. Most of these matters, and others of a similar character, had not been set down at large in the discipline of the Society, but unwritten custom had given them the value of law. The Hicksites groped, somewhat blindly at first, for an "enlargement," for a return of the "spirit" of early Quakerism, rather than a maintenance of peculiar outward forms. The purpose was at last accomplished, but the Society had not the power to withstand so great a shock. Henceforth the struggle became one not for supremacy, but almost for existence, in which both "branches" ultimately suffered severe losses. Except in a cer-



tain few instances both the Orthodox and the Hicksite societies, in point of membership, have slowly but steadily been losing ground, or at best remaining stationary. Whatever may be said of the State and national influence of either or both branches, in such matters as abolition of slavery, the uplifting of the negro, arbitration, and technical education, is, however, another matter.

Before the "separation" there were in the State four quarterly meetings—Burlington, Haddonfield, Salem, and Shrewsbury. There were nineteen monthly meetings and forty-six meetings for worship. It is somewhat difficult to secure accurate statistics as to the exact distribution of membership between the Hicksite and Orthodox branches. The fact that certain members refused to ally themselves with either division, and a somewhat uncertain attitude taken by others, led to generalizations. From the most reliable sources it is gleaned that there were about six thousand members of the Society in New Jersey at the time of the division. Roughly speaking it may be said that in Burlington "Quarterly" there were about nineteen hundred, in Haddonfield "Quarterly" about seventeen hundred, in Salem "Quarterly" about fifteen hundred and fifty, and in Shrewsbury "Quarterly" about nine hundred and twenty-five. In the "separation" the Hicksites secured about eleven hundred members in

Burlington "Quarterly" and the Orthodox eight hundred members, the former having fourteen places for worship, the latter thirteen. In Had-donfield "Quarterly" the two branches each claimed a membership of about eight hundred and fifty, the Hicksites securing six houses for worship, the Orthodox nine. In Salem "Quarterly" the difference was much greater, the Hicksites' membership being about twelve hundred and fifty with ten meeting houses, that of the Orthodox about three hundred with four meeting houses. In Shrewsbury "Quarterly" eight Hicksite meetings for worship had a membership of seven hundred and fifty, while the Orthodox were limited to three meetings and one hundred and seventy-five members. The Hicksites thus succeeded in controlling in part or in whole thirty-eight places for worship out of sixty-seven, and about thirty-three hundred and fifty members, or slightly over fifty per cent. of the total number of Friends in the State. Fifteen meeting houses were occupied jointly by the Hicksites and Orthodox societies.

Nor were other denominations less free from the spirit of greater freedom of thought that ruled the day. Into the Presbyterian Church had crept the desire for inquiry, but with the College of New Jersey and Princeton Seminary as restraining influences, the tone of investigation was moderate, and in seeking expression along the lines of what

was then "higher criticism" a position was taken which was practically that now occupied by the church. No schism drove the Presbyterians into factions, and the faith still held a firm position in the eastern portion of the State. Divided into the Presbyteries of Newark with twenty-four churches, Elizabethtown with seventeen churches, New Brunswick with nineteen churches, and Newton with twenty-five, this denomination in 1830 claimed about fifteen thousand communicants in a total State population of three hundred and twenty thousand.

What was true of the Presbyterians may be said of the Baptists, although the congregational form of worship characteristic of that faith gave greater latitude in the expression of opinion.

There were in the State about four thousand Baptists, the affairs of the church being overlooked by various "associations," containing in all sixty-one churches. Of these churches many possessed great antiquity, particularly in the southern and central portions of New Jersey. Thus, antedating the Revolution, Cohansey congregation claimed its organization from 1683, that of Cape May from 1712, Salem from 1755, Dividing Creek from 1762, Pemberton from 1764, Pittsgrove from 1771, and Manahawkin from 1770. As early as 1688 there was a Baptist congregation at Middletown, where it is said that eighteen of the thirty-six purchasers

of the Indian title were members of that denomination. It is curious that after having "settled themselves into a church state" the Baptists of Middletown became divided and each party was formally excommunicated by the other. What the trouble was is not positively known, for when the trouble was adjusted in May, 1711, the record of proceedings was torn out of their church book. In 1689 the Baptists organized a congregation at Piscataway; in 1747 at Scotch Plains; in 1752 at Morristown; and in 1767 and 1769 at Mount Bethel and Lyons Farms. In Sussex County, at Wantage, the Baptists appeared in 1756, while in 1715 there were members of that faith organized in Hopewell, and in 1745 at Hightstown. Kingwood's church dates from 1742.

When Benjamin Abbott, that remarkable evangelist, came to Trenton in 1778, found the meeting house of the Methodist Episcopal Church turned into a stable, and could count only one hundred and fifty members of his society in all New Jersey, he little realized the social force which he and his associates, following Bishop Asbury through New Jersey, had set in motion. Through the days immediately preceding the Revolution, and during the war itself, the growth of Methodism was so small as to be scarcely appreciated. In 1772, in New Jersey, there were only nineteen members, which rose to two hundred the next

year, three hundred in 1775, five hundred in 1781, and one thousand in 1783. Thence for fifty years Methodism surged like a great tide, inundating, it may be said, the southern portion of the State. In the Counties of Burlington, old Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, and Cape May, all of which, by 1830, had a population of about ninety-two thousand, there were seven thousand Methodists—one to thirteen. The movement had crossed the Assanpink, extending to Flemington and Belleville, constituting the East Jersey district, in which there were about four thousand members. One-third of these were in Newark, Bloomfield, Orange, Belleville, Rahway, and Elizabethtown. In the remaining portion of the State were about forty-five hundred members, nearly a third being in Warren and Sussex Counties. The total number in the State was about fifteen thousand five hundred, equal in numerical strength to the Presbyterians.

The Protestant Episcopal Church had not recovered from the distressing days of the Revolution. In its strongholds in Newark, Perth Amboy, Trenton, and Burlington it represented no small part of the wealth, the education, and the best family connections of the communities, but to many, influenced by name rather than by fact, it was still the "Church of England," and that in 1830 meant the taint of Toryism. In all New Jer-

sey its thirty-three churches had but nine hundred communicants. In 1833 seven churches were vacant, all of which, with the exception of a chapel in Belleville, were in the southern part of the State, where the Swedish Lutheran movement had lost itself in its greater neighbor. Five of the thirty-three churches were supplied by missionary deacons or priests, reducing the number of active congregations to between fifteen and twenty.

The entire strength of the conservative Reformed Dutch Church of New Jersey lay in the northeastern portion of the State, the congregations being divided into the Classis of New Brunswick, the Classis of Bergen, and the Classis of Paramus. The total number of communicants was about three thousand, with about forty churches.

Of faiths that had but a minor representation in New Jersey at this eventful period the Lutheran had, as early as 1690, established a congregation in Hackensack, had gone out into the Passaic Valley, and had in West Jersey, in the Swedish settlements, lingered for over a century, until the end had come. There is told, and beautifully told, in Melick's "Story of An Old Farm," the tale of the coming of Palatinate Lutherans to the hills that lift their heads toward Schooley's Mountain. It is partially romance, that in 1705 a party of Palatinates fled from Walfenbittel and Halbertstadt and thence to Holland, where in 1707 they de-

signed for New York. Driven by storm to Delaware Bay, they reached Philadelphia, and on their way overland to New York were attracted by the peaceful valleys of Morris and Hunterdon Counties and settled there.

The broad liberality of the Society of Friends at the genesis of their settlements unquestionably led to the presence of Roman Catholics in West Jersey. Among the French servants of Dr. Daniel Coxe, at Cape May, earlier than 1700, there were probably members of that faith. John D. McCormick, the historian of the Roman Catholic Church in New Jersey, in a supplement to William S. Sharp's reprint of Smith's History, ingeniously argues, with no small degree of success, that John Tatham, about whose title to the governorship of West Jersey there was dispute, was a Roman Catholic. Certain it is that his library, which overlooked his famous garden in Burlington, contained books of Roman Catholic theology, a rare circumstance, indeed, when two centuries since any library of a theological partisan was filled with volumes dealing only with one side of the question—the partisan's side. There is no doubt that Father Ferdinand Farmer visited the Wistar glass house at Salem about 1760, later exercising his priestly functions, in spite of restrictive statutes, at Basking Ridge, Pikesland, Charlotteburg, and Long Pond. Father Francis Beeston was among the

iron workers of East Jersey at the close of the Revolution, while John Gilmary Shea, in his "History of the Catholic Church in Colonial Days," states that the Jesuit Fathers in New York baptized, at an early date, in Woodbridge. William Douglass, who was returned to the East Jersey Legislature from Bergen County in 1680, was denied admission to the Assembly on the ground that he was a member of that faith.

With the opening of the nineteenth century the Roman Catholics appear in small numbers in Trenton, in 1799; at Macopin and Madison in 1805; while in 1824 Orangemen made an attack upon the Roman Catholics in Paterson. The appearance of Irish emigrants, not only men technically skilled, who pursued their trades in Newark and the nearby mill towns, Jersey City, New Brunswick, and Trenton, but those less able, who found work upon the Morris Canal and the Delaware and Raritan Canal and the new railroads, stimulated the growth of the Roman Catholic Church. Yet as late as 1853, when Bishop Bayley became the head of the newly established diocese of New Jersey, there were in all New Jersey only thirty-three churches, of which three were in Newark. So bitter had been the feeling against the Roman Catholics that in 1833 members of that faith were excluded from Elizabethtown.

It was during the year 1837 that there came to



New Egypt one Benjamin Winchester, an elder "of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints." Filled with the zeal of an apostle, he indeed "cried aloud in the wilderness," and among those who lived in that then remote region of the State gained about fifty converts, who subscribed to the doctrines of the Mormon faith. From New Egypt to Tom's River, across the County of Ocean, the preachers of the new religion established their faith, and in the latter town built a small church, in which the county courts were later held. So successful was the missionary effort that before the cornerstone of the Nauvoo temple was laid, Joseph Smith, the founder of the sect, "sealed" converts in New Egypt, Hornerstown, and Tom's River. His brother, William Smith, also visited this region, while the successor of Brigham Young, the energetic and talented John Taylor, preached in the old Forked River school house as late as 1851. Subsequently, with the emigration of some Mormon converts, who removed from Ocean County to Salt Lake City, the movement died in that region of New Jersey.

It is at least a curious as well as an interesting fact that the first Universalist sermon ever delivered in America was preached in the old Potter "Union" Church in Good Luck. This event occurred in 1770, when the Rev. John Murray appeared in Ocean County, in a region in which, but

a few years before Murray's advent, a body of Rogerine Baptists had settled.

The era of reform had to a large degree affected the character of the newspapers of the State. From 1800 to 1830 there had been many changes among them; many had been born only to die again, yet in 1833 the list of those published had increased to thirty-one, including both dailies and weeklies. With the exception of Cape May every county had a newspaper, a press being established in each county capital save Bergen County, the newspaper in that territorial subdivision being printed in Jersey City, although one had been published in Hackensack during a part of 1822.

As compared with the weeklies of the opening of the century the newspaper in the era of reform took a saner view of life, had departed from the policy of designating a President as "a Deist," "a leader of ragamuffins," "a prostituer of American virtue," some of the terms that were applied to Jefferson, and contented itself with calling Jackson "an obstinate tyrant," or possibly "a blackguard." While the editors threw at one another's heads such terms as "liars," "subsisters upon the public pap," and "vermin," this was something of the spectacular, something of the nature of opera bouffe war, where the contending

armies belabor one another with bladders. Libel laws were discounted, as they had ever been.

But the newspaper of the day was the haven of refuge for those who advocated every "ism" dealing with every conceivable subject. The harmless and the harmful enthusiast assailed one another's plans, coaxed, protested, threatened, and abused. Nothing was left undiscussed; nothing was left unsettled. The man with his remedy was ready to dispose of every ill, physical or mental. It was not only a war of ideas, but a war of words, in which no one was ever defeated, in which the lives of theories were never extinguished.

The newspapers in the arrangement of their parts began to assume some modern forms. Editorials found an assigned place; local news was no longer lost under dissertations upon the "Value of Church Going," the "Decay of Intellectuality," or the "Need of Clover" upon certain kinds of lands. Foreign intelligence was presented with an appreciation of its value. Upon rare occasions articles of great prominence were given "heads" in a degree commensurate with their interest. But there was much to be done to lift the newspapers from mere sheets devoted to political abuse to anything like modern journals. In the collection of news there was neither energy nor discrimination displayed. The reporter or editor, when he left the office of the paper, made

a short tour of the heart of the town, gathered what he could, returned to his desk, and waited for "something to turn up." The demands of the old-time presses were such that the forms of a morning paper were closed as early as ten or eleven o'clock upon the previous night. Should a fire have occurred the description was written to the point when the paper went to press, and was continued, like a serial story, the next day. In the newspaper having a large rural circulation there was little of the present intensely personal and laudatory character of the doings of people resident in the shire towns and nearby villages. The earlier writers of nuptial and obituary notices had modified their sentiments expressive of joy or wee, and occasionally presented facts, but in a surprised, nervous way, as if afraid of their effect. As an art or as a science advertisement writing was unknown, either in the metropolitan or in the country newspapers, the merchant plainly stating what he had for sale and its price, without any attempt to give beauty of form or grace of expression to the announcement.

In New Jersey as elsewhere the newspapers still had a small circulation, and the names of even the largest and most influential journals were scarcely known outside the communities where they were printed. Every newspaper, however, was thoroughly read by its subscribers, for the time had

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not yet come when men bought a dozen newspapers each day and merely glanced at the headlines. Nothing escaped the old-time readers, most of whom personally knew the editors and called the newspaper by the name of the man directing its policy. For this reason the editorial sanctum was a lounging place for politicians favorable to those views which the editor advocated, and where in later years, when the exchange system was perfected, the prominent men of the community assembled to see what Greeley was advocating in the *Tribune*, or to read Bennett's views as expressed in the *Herald*, although at the time Greeley might be in the Adirondacks, or Bennett in Europe. But the great publishers, like the English King in parliament, were always theoretically present in their editorial offices.

Thus far had the newspapers advanced toward modern conditions when Andrew Jackson was President.









**I**T WAS the panic of 1837 that led to the downfall of the Democracy of New Jersey House of Assembly. But in 1838, with hands fell the governorship, Council, and and the triumph of the Whigs. Into their prosperity slowly returning, a partisan contest of the most intense bitterness was waged, not only for the control of State affairs, but for the securing of the congressional delegation of six members, to which New Jersey was then entitled.

The congressional election of 1838 found two tickets in the field: the Democratic party, represented by Philemon Dickerson, Peter D. Vroom, Daniel B. Ryall, William R. Cooper, Joseph Kille, and Manning Force, and the Whigs by John B. Aycrigg, John P. B. Maxwell, William Halstead, Charles C. Stratton, Thomas Jones Yorke, and Joseph F. Randolph. Upon the 9th and 10th of October of that year the qualified voters of the State cast their ballots upon the "general ticket" system then in vogue, not choosing their representatives, as at present, by separate districts. The returns showed Democratic majorities ranging from one hundred and fifty-nine,—that of Mr. Dickerson over Mr. Aycrigg,—to sixty, that of Mr. Cooper over Mr. Stratton. One Whig, Joseph F. Randolph, subsequently associate justice of the Supreme Court, having run ahead of his ticket,

was elected beyond dispute. The delegation thus stood five Democrats to one Whig.

With the announcement of the returns the situation grew complicated, owing to direct charges of fraud made on the part of the Democrats. It was said that the Whig clerks of Cumberland and Middlesex Counties had falsified the returns. In the case of Cumberland County it was alleged that the clerk suppressed the result in Millville Township, and so tabulated the Deerfield Township returns as to set "the seal and silence of death" upon the expression of the popular will. It was claimed that the clerk had thus changed a Democratic majority of thirty-seven to a Whig majority of one hundred and sixty-nine. From the County of Middlesex the Whig clerk made no return of the election held in the township of South Amboy, in which the Democratic majority was two hundred and fifty-two. It was also further stated that the Cumberland and Middlesex returns had been "held back" until the result in other parts of the State was known. All political life was in a turmoil, particularly as there was no provision in the existing election law permitting any correction of these returns. But one way remained open, and that was for the governor and his Privy Council "to cast up the number of votes for each candidate and determine the six persons who had the greatest number of votes." Having thus deter-

mined the result, the governor's duty was to issue commissions under the Great Seal of New Jersey to such members of the House of Representatives.

Then in all its fury broke the "Great Seal" or "Broad Seal" War. The policy of the Whig party in New Jersey had been predetermined, nor could Governor Pennington avert the storm of obloquy and reproach which beat upon him. Refusing, in spite of indignant Democratic protests, to recognize a Democratic majority of three hundred and fifty-eight from the Townships of Millville and South Amboy, the governor and Privy Council, canvassing the result on the 24th of October, went so far as to take the stand that no election whatever had been held in those townships so far as they had official knowledge, no returns having been filed within the time prescribed by law.

In defending their position the governor and the members of his Privy Council rested their argument of justification upon a single proposition. This was that in canvassing congressional returns they were ministerial officers bound by mere form. As returns in legal form had been made to them from all counties there existed no right, on their part, of amendment or rejection of such returns for any reason other than that of informality. Consequently Governor Pennington affixed the Great Seal of the State of New Jersey to the certificates of election of all the Whig candidates.

With the theater of war transferred from Trenton to Washington a new complication arose. The bitterly contested congressional election throughout the Union had resulted in the return of one hundred and eighteen Whigs and one hundred and nineteen Democrats as members of the new House of Representatives. Upon the five members of the New Jersey delegation depended the organization of the house and the political triumph of either party, the existing federal administration being Democratic.

Upon the 2d of December, 1839, the real "war" began. Under custom the clerk of the previous house, in organizing the new house, enrolled the members and called the body to order. Hugh A. Garland, a Virginian Democrat and clerk of the house, having called the roll and reached the name of Joseph F. Randolph, stated that, if the house concurred, he would, in view of the contest, pass over the five names in the New Jersey delegation until the call of the members of the remaining States should be completed.

Instantly the house was plunged into an acrimonious debate, and Garland having refused to entertain a motion to adjourn, many members left the capital. For several days disorder and almost open violence ensued, until on the 5th of December John Quincy Adams accepted the delicate position of temporary chairman. Not until the 12th of De-

ember was Robert M. T. Hunter, also a Virginian, a compromise candidate, elected speaker of the house, after the house had finally decided that "only the names of the members whose seats were uncontested should be called, and that the members thus called should be a quorum to settle the contest."

By a vote of one hundred and eleven to eighty-one on the 28th of February, 1840, the five Democratic members, Philemon Dickerson, Peter D. Vroom, Daniel B. Ryall, Joseph Kille, and William B. Cooper, were declared to be members of the House. In July their election was duly confirmed by a committee report by a vote of one hundred and two to twenty-two.

The great seal of New Jersey, which as the symbol of State authority played so conspicuous a part in the "war," has had a history as ancient as it is honorable.

No one act of the first session of the first Legislature of the State of New Jersey convening in the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, partook more of the affirmance of statehood than the provision made for the design of a great seal. Under Article XI of the constitution of July 2, 1776, authority was given to the Council and Assembly "to make the great seal of this Colony," the custody whereof lay with the governor, or, in his ab-

sence, with the vice-president of council, "to be used by them as occasion may require."

Upon the 6th day of September, 1776, Richard Smith, of the County of Burlington, and John Cooper, of the County of Gloucester, members of council, were directed "to meet a committee of the House of Assembly in order to form a Great Seal." William Paterson, of Somerset County, was directed by Council to inform the House of Assembly of the selection. Upon the same day the Assembly chose Samuel Dick, of Salem County, Ephraim Harris, of Cumberland County, John Covenhoven, of Monmouth County, and Charles Coxe, of Hunterdon County, as a committee to act with Council "in order to form a Great Seal for the State."

Council was informed of the action of the Assembly by Joseph Holmes, Jr., of Monmouth County, and Joseph Newbold, of Burlington County.

In both the house and council were men who were well acquainted not only with the symbolism of heraldry, but who from childhood had been accustomed to the use of family arms. To them, inheriting the conservative notions of fitness and dignity, the great seal of New Jersey had an importance far beyond more modern views. So it was, while waiting for the design maker and the engraver, that there is a touch of Old-World aristocracy in the resolution of Council passed Septem-

ber 10, 1776. That body "having taken into Consideration that it will necessarily take up some Time to get a proper Great Seal prepared for the Sealing of such Commissions as have usually passed under the Great Seal, and that it will be necessary for the publick Good that Sundry Commissions should issue before such Great Seal can be made: therefore

*Resolved*:—That the Seal of Arms of His Excellency *William Livingston*, Esquire, Shall be deemed and taken as the Great Seal of this State till another shall be made.

In this the Assembly concurred, and Messrs. Dick and Covenhoven acquainted Council thereof. The joint committee of the 6th of September, through its chairman, Richard Smith, thus reported to both houses on the 3d of October:

That they have considered the Subject and taken the Sentiments of several intelligent Gentlemen thereon: and are of Opinion that *Francis Hopkinson*, Esq., should be immediately engaged to employ proper Persons at *Philadelphia* to prepare a Silver Seal, which is to be round, of two and a half Inches diameter, and three-eighths of an Inch thick, and that the Arms shall be three Ploughs in an Escutcheon; the Supporters, Liberty and Ceres, and the Crest, a Horse's Head; these words to be engraved in large Letters round the Arms viz., "THE GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY."

Francis Hopkinson, authorized "to draw on the treasurer of this State for the Expence" of the great seal, found the employment of "proper Persons" a congenial duty. As a lover of the fine

arts, and anxious to encourage genius, he secured the services of the eccentric Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere, of Philadelphia, who had already been engaged in like service by Virginia, Georgia, and Delaware. The original great seal, the design of which was drawn in india ink in October, 1776, is still preserved in silver in the office of the secretary of state, as well as the original report of September 6, 1776. A comparison of the wording of the resolution and the seal itself, from which the original of the accompanying impression was made, discloses some striking points of difference. It will be noticed that beneath the horse's head of the crest an earl's helmet has been placed, that ornate mantling appears above the supporters, and that below the escutcheon the date "MDCCLXXVI" has been inserted. No legislative sanction exists for these alterations.

That Du Simitiere exceeded his authority is shown by the fact that in many of the printed representations of the great seal, upon the title-pages of State laws, the printers discarded both helmet and date and made their own designs based on the report of 1776.

Throughout the range of New Jersey's official publications, as is shown by Eugene Zieber's "Heraldry in America," no less than a score of designs of the great seal are to be found. The sup-



porters are often reversed, whilst the horse's head faces either dexter or sinister. The widest liberties were taken with the supporter Ceres, her cornucopia being in all imaginable positions. Often the representations border on the ludicrous, as in many cases the supporters are clad in what appear to be bombazine petticoats. Not until Morton A. Stilles's edition of the laws of 1854 is there any attempt toward artistic execution of the seal on the part of State printers.

A variety of mottoes occur, but among the earliest is that used in the Joseph Justice edition of the laws (1821), wherein the words "Liberty and Prosperity" are found. This is now the recognized motto of New Jersey when such is used, but is distinctively descriptive of the supporters, and has never been authorized by act or resolution.

It was not until May, 1777, that the great seal executed by Du Simitiere was delivered to the Legislature, then in session in Haddoneld. From October, 1776, to May, 1777, the seal at arms of Governor William Livingston was used as the great seal, and to this incident Theodore Sedgwick, Jr., author of the governor's life, makes an interesting reference. It appears that the original emigrant, Robert Livingston, the virtual baron of the manor, was compelled to return to England in 1694. In this voyage, taken to advance business interests, he was shipwrecked in

Portugal and reached the mother country by a continental journey. To commemorate the event, it is said the American family at this early period altered the Scotch crest, a demi-savage, to a ship in distress, and changed the motto *si je puis to spero meliora*.

Among the papers of General Henry Livingston, of Ancram, New York, was found, in 1811, a letter from one William Livingston dated December 13, 1698, written from Edinburgh. Therein he blazons the arms of the family, although Sedgwick says the excerpt contains "heraldic blunders." The biographer also quotes a letter from Governor Livingston addressed to Colonel Livingston in Holland and dated June 10, 1785. His Excellency reiterates the fact of the alteration of crest and motto and adds: "These have been retained by all the family except myself who not being able without ingratitude to Providence to wish for more than I had, changed the former (crest of a ship in distress) into a ship under full sail and the latter (*spero meliora*) into "Aut Mors aut vita decora." A book-plate, probably engraved when William Livingston was an entered student-of-law in the Middle Temple about the year 1742, shows the alterations made by himself.

Under the colonial governments the territory of what is now the State of New Jersey had a variety of seals, used by the various nations laying claim

to lands between the Hudson and the Delaware. Under the Dutch, until 1664, and probably under the reestablishment of Dutch authority, 1673-74, the seal of the province of New Netherland was unquestionably recognized by the planters and traders upon the west bank of the Hudson. Van der Donck alludes to this seal in one of his papers, when the historian says that New Netherland was called a province because it was invested by their High Mightinesses with the arms of an earl.

The officials of the Swedish settlements along the east bank of the Delaware used a seal, although little is known of the matter. To the seal of New Albion reference has already been made.

The grant by James, Duke of York, to Carteret and Berkeley brought into use the arms of Sir George Carteret, which appears in the New Jersey Archives, Vol. I, page 60. This design, says Zieber, contains several palpable errors of an heraldic character. In the New Jersey Archives, Vol. I, page 27, appears the seal of the province of New Jersey, containing the arms of Berkeley, in duplicate, with those of Carteret. One impression is known to exist, and is now in the possession of the New Jersey Historical Society, having been made in 1664.

An early reference to the seal of the province of East Jersey is to be found upon the 11th of May, 1685, when, in a confirmation of orders sent

to Governor Barclay, it is recited that "For the Just encouragement of those who travell dilligently for the good of the Publique and for the fixing of due Authoritie in them, That all commissions Instruments, Orders and Instructions whatsoever, and every of them, that shall hereafter have the Seale of the Province affixed thereunto, and the Hands of five whole Proprietors." An impression of this seal in 1694, on an instrument signed by Andrew Hamilton, governor, is in the possession of William Nelson, of Paterson. This seal was probably destroyed upon the surrender of government in 1702.

Of the province of West Jersey a seal appears in a quit-rent authority by both East and West proprietors to Rip Van Dam, under the date of December 14, 1697.

The attempt of the Duke of York to foist his representative Andros upon the Jerseys, while abortive, led to the establishment of a new seal. As early as September 18, 1685, Governor Thomas Dongan, of New York, wrote that "A New Seal of this Province is very much wanting." The King appointed a seal for "Our Province of New York and the Territorys depending thereupon in America," thus including the Jerseys. The seal is described, in a warrant, under date of August 14, 1687, as "being engraven on the one side with Our Royal Effigies

on Horsback in Arms over a Land-skip of Land & Sea, with a Rising Sun and a Scrole containing this Motto *Aliusq et Idem*, and our Titles round the circumference of the said Seal. There being also engraven on the other side Our Royal Arms with the Garter, Crown, Supporters & Motto, with this Inscription round y<sup>e</sup> Circumference, *Sigillum Provinciae Nostræ Novi Eboraci &c in America.* \* \* \* and that it bee to all intents and purposes of the same force & validity as any former seal within our said Province, or as any other seal whatsoever appointed for the use of any of Our Plantations in America is or hath been." This seal was ordered defaced on the 16th day of April, 1688, and in its place the great seal of New England was used. An order was issued to Governor Dongan to deliver his seal to Sir Edmund Andros, which was broken in New York City in September of that year.

After the union of 1702 Lord Cornbury, upon the 8th of July, 1705, requested a new seal for New Jersey, as "the old one is very much worn." A seal had already been sent for the colony, as Secretary William Popple wrote on the 28th of July, 1705.

The first seal used for New Jersey as a royal colony under Queen Anne was similar to that used in the colony of New York, which was engraven upon one side with the royal effigy, with two In-

dians kneeling and offering presents, with the royal titles around the circumference, and upon the other side with the royal arms, garter, crown, supporters, and motto *Semper Eadem*.

In July, 1718, Governor Robert Hunter received the new seals for New Jersey, which had been issued by a warrant from George I., dated October 8, 1717, wherein the King directs the governor on receipt of the "new Seals" to cause "the former Seal to be broke before you in Council and then to transmit the said former Seal so broken to our Com<sup>rs</sup> for Trade and Plantations to be laid before Us in Council as usual." This seal was engraven with the royal arms, garter, supporters, motto, and crown, with this inscription round the same, "*Sig: Provincie nostrae de Nova Caesarea in America.*"

This seal of George I lasted until the accession of his successor. Upon the 17th of November, 1727, a warrant was issued from the board of plantations to "Mr. Rollos His Majesty's Seal Cutter to prepare new Seals for His Majesty's Plantations in America."

The order from Council included all the colonies and plantations in America. The general direction commanded the insertion of the King's particular arms and foreign titles as in the great seal of the kingdom. To the seal cutter discretion was given in contracting words. The seal was the

same as that of 1717, with this addition: "in an outward Circle:" "Georgicus II Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniae Franciæ Et Hib: Rex, Fid: Defensor Brunsvici et Luneburgi Dux, Sacri Romani Imperij Archi Thesaurarius et Elector." The ship bearing this seal was cast away, and the symbol of authority lost. However, under date of December 17, 1731, another was ordered.

On the 20th day of October, 1760, according to the New Jersey Archives, Vol. IX, pages 239, 243, 247, and 640, George III directed Governor Thomas Boone, through an order from the secretary, William Pitt, to continue the use of the former seal. Upon the 29th of the same month a circular letter was addressed from the Lords of Trade to the governors in North America informing them that warrants for using the old seals were in preparation, together with proclamations for continuing officers in their employments, orders for the alteration of the liturgy, and the like. A general order was issued from Whitehall, December 2, 1760, from John Pownall, secretary of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, and directed to Mr. Major, engraver of seals, that he engrave "new ones for the Colonies." With the exception of "Georgicus Tertius" for "Georgicus Secundus" the seal of New Jersey underwent no change.

William Franklin, the last colonial governor of New Jersey, writing from Burlington under date

of October 6, 1767, acknowledges to the Earl of Shelburne the receipt of a new seal for New Jersey and a warrant for the use thereof. The old seal was returned, and was defaced at Saint James on the 20th of April, 1768, together with the seals of some of the West Indies, South Carolina, Georgia, Nova Scotia, New York, and Massachusetts Bay.







**F**OR practically a decade, from 1840 to the wildest dreams of enthusiasts romance, a land concerning which turned toward the West—a region of 1850, the eyes of the nation were fell far short of actualities. But of the events which passed in rapid succession, and all of which bore their impress upon the ever present question of the extension of slavery, the war with Mexico is by far the most important, not only in its dramatic aspect, but in the directness and far reaching character of its results.

It was upon March 2, 1836, that Texas declared her independence, and one year thereafter the United States recognized this act of violent separation on the part of a State from the rule of the Mexican republic. Already formal cause for complaint had existed on the part of Mexico, and as early as 1835 diplomatic correspondence between that republic and the United States had been suspended, owing to the charge that troops of the United States had been sent into Texas for the ostensible purpose of suppressing Indian border warfare, but actually to encourage and support the revolt of the province. When in 1843 the annexation of Texas was considered as a probability the United States was warned that Mexico would consider such an act as a declaration of war. In support of this policy Mexico, interdicting trade,

closed the custom houses upon her northern border. Immediately the claim was set up by the United States that such a course violated the obligations of the treaty between the two countries.

The unsuccessful attempt to annex Texas in March, 1844, against which course both France and England remonstrated, was renewed the following year, and upon March 3, 1845, Texas was admitted to the Union by joint resolution of Congress, to which Texas assented upon the following Fourth of July. Although diplomatic relations had been renewed between the United States and Mexico, following the estrangement of 1835, all official communication between the two republics at once ceased. This was followed by the subsequently ineffectual efforts of Commissioner Slidell to settle "the present contention."

Between the Neuces and the Rio Grande lay a territory in dispute, which had been claimed by both Texas, as a republic, and Mexico. With the annexation of Texas the burden of this frontier quarrel was thrown upon the United States, and it was there in the early spring of 1846 that the troops of the United States, commanded by General Zachary Taylor, and the Mexican army, under General Arista, clashed. Within this territory in May occurred the brilliant battles of Fort Brown, Palo Alto, and Resaca de la Palma; and, driving the Mexicans southward, the forces of the

United States crossed the Rio Grande upon the 18th of the month. The troops of the United States moved slowly in three divisions through Northern Mexico. Monterey was captured during the month of September, and with the subsequent fall of Buena Vista and the defeat of Santa Anna in February, 1847, the operations were later transferred to Vera Cruz.

Beyond the Rocky Mountains lay a partially explored portion of Mexico's vast American dominion—a land of valleys, as beautiful as those of Paradise, where nestled century-old mission churches, sweeping deserts and mountains, over which roamed graziers with their flocks, and Indians. It was California, the "Garden of the World." Thence under General Stephen Watts Kearny, himself a member of a family distinguished in the history of New Jersey, was sent a command of eighteen hundred men, largely composed of volunteers from the State of Missouri, as well as certain Mormons organized in a battalion. For nearly a thousand miles across the alkali deserts, this force marched to Santa Fé, New Mexico, which was occupied on the 18th of August, 1846. Leaving the command of Santa Fé to Colonel Price, General Kearny moved onward to California with only one hundred dragoons, and after a severe and almost fatal engagement at San Pasqual reached San Diego.

In this conquest of California another New Jerseyman was destined to play a most conspicuous part. Already the Pacific squadron of the United States Navy, under Commodore Sloat, had captured Monterey, California, and Commander Montgomery had seized San Francisco. But it was reserved for Commodore Robert F. Stockton, who had succeeded Commodore Sloat in command, to occupy Los Angeles, the capital of California. The lessons in military tactics which Robert F. Stockton, as a lad, had studied at "Morven," in Princeton, had stood him in good stead. California, under a constitutional government, was formally declared to be a part of the territory of the United States, Colonel Fremont, then engaged upon his famous exploring expedition, was appointed governor, and the rose-colored flag with its emblem of a bear and a star, the sign of the new republic of California, which had been but recently organized by the settlers of the Sacramento Valley, was hauled down forever. To pacify the country Commodore Stockton, in September, had penetrated the interior, and in his absence Los Angeles again fell into the hands of the Mexicans. Joining his force of five hundred men to that of General Kearny, who reached California in December, the battles of San Gabriel and the Mesa River were fought early in January, 1847. Thus the Pacific



Yours truly,  
D. B. Stewart





slope of the Spanish West became annexed to the United States, and six hundred thousand square miles of territory were added to the public domain.

Within the limits of the present republic of Mexico the winter of 1847 brought not only military, but naval, activity. Colonel Doniphan, in March, after a long and arduous winter campaign, had captured Chihuahua, Commodore Shubrick had reduced Mazatlan, while Commodores Conner and Perry had effectually scoured the Gulf of Mexico and had occupied the coast towns of Tampico, Tobasco, Alvarado, and Tuspan.

It was early in March, 1847, that General Scott with twelve thousand men, among whom were the New Jersey volunteers, arrived off the principal port of Mexico's foreign commerce, Vera Cruz, and after a severe bombardment lasting four days the city surrendered. "On to Mexico City" was the cry that thrilled the American army, and led them to the pass of Cerro Gordo. Here Santa Anna, the revolutionary president of the republic of Mexico, had assembled a large and well trained force. The loss of Vera Cruz, with the capture of five thousand prisoners, four hundred pieces of ordnance, and large stores of ammunition, had told heavily upon the resources of the Mexican republic. Cerro Gordo was Santa Anna's last hope, and before the almost invincible position

occupied by the Mexicans General Scott was temporarily powerless. But, cutting a road around a mountain, he succeeded in attacking Santa Anna's rear, while under Colonel Harney the tower of Cerro Gordo was captured, and General Pillow forced Santa Anna's right to surrender. Driving Santa Anna before him, General Scott occupied Puebla, and on the 7th of August marched forward to Mexico City, fighting the battles of Contreras, Cherubusco, and San Antonio. Delayed by an unwise armistice, the final operations against the City of Mexico were not made until the 8th of September. Thence until the final capitulation of the city upon the 16th the battles of Molino del Rey, Casa Mata, Chapultepec, Belen, and San Cosmé marked some of the most gallant defenses and the most brilliant charges ever witnessed upon the North American continent. With the fall of the City of Mexico ended the war, and at Guadalupe Hidalgo, upon the 2d of February, 1848, the secret treaty of peace between the two republics was signed, while upon the 30th of May the ratifications of the treaty were exchanged.

Under the treaty the Rio Grande was established as the boundary between the United States and Mexico from the Gulf to the southern boundary of New Mexico, thence along the New Mexico line to its western terminus, thence along the

western side of New Mexico to the first branch of the Gila River, thence by that branch to the Colorado River, and lastly to the Pacific Ocean, on the boundary between upper California and lower California. Free navigation was granted citizens of the United States in the waters of the Gulf of California, the Colorado River, the Gila River, and the Rio Bravo del Norte, south of New Mexico. Protection was guaranteed all Mexicans residing in the United States, whether they retained Mexican citizenship or took the oath of allegiance to the United States. To indemnify losses on the part of American citizens and for surrendered territory the United States agreed to pay fifteen million dollars. Thus passed under the control of the United States government: California, New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, and parts of Colorado, and Wyoming. On December 30, 1853, by reason of the Gadsden purchase, the southern watershed of the Gila River (the Mesilla Valley) was added to the territory obtained by conquest, which created the southern boundaries of New Mexico and Arizona as at present existing.

The declaration of war with Mexico aroused the military ardor of New Jersey. Although a generation had passed away since the State, in 1812, had responded to the call for volunteers, yet the continuous if not efficient organization of the State militia had sustained a martial spirit.

The war itself was generally popular in New Jersey, and received the commendation of the press. Thus the commencement of the struggle found New Jersey ready to respond to any demand upon her resources that the federal government should make.

Following an executive message to Congress, which was sent upon the 11th of May, 1846, President Polk, upon the 13th of May, approved an act "providing for the prosecution of the existing war between the United States and Mexico." Under the statute the President was authorized to make a call for volunteers not exceeding fifty thousand men, "who may offer their services either as cavalry, artillery, infantry, or riflemen," to serve for twelve months, while in addition the sum of ten million dollars was appropriated from the national treasury for military expenses.

Upon the volunteers fell the expense of furnishing their own clothes, while the cavalrymen were required to provide horses and "horse equipments." To Governor Charles C. Stratton, under date of May 19th, came a requisition from the secretary of war calling for one volunteer regiment of infantry from New Jersey, the number of men in each company to be limited to sixty-four. Instantly Governor Stratton issued a proclamation "calling upon the organized uniform companies and other citizens of the State to enroll them-

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selves" in a company of infantry (riflemen) and a regiment of infantry (riflemen), under which call "many companies of the militia of the State offered their services, but none were accepted at the time."

The opening of the year 1847 found the people of New Jersey heartily in favor of the war, judged at least by the attitude of the Legislature in the passage of two joint resolutions. Upon the 28th of January the Legislature, in a preamble to these joint resolutions, stated that General Taylor's course "has been such as has commanded the admiration of his countrymen as well as to elicit praise from foreign nations, and we have seen with regret an attempt made to defame and detract from his hard earned reputation, gained by a life spent in the service of his country, in the War of 1812, in the swamps of Florida, and in the chapparals of Mexico." Therefore, it was resolved "that the skill, ability, and indomitable bravery displayed in the Mexican War by General Zachary Taylor merit our warmest praise," and that the thanks of the Legislature were due him as well as to the gallant men who fought upon the fields of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey. On the 19th of February the governor was authorized to procure and present in the name of the State of New Jersey four swords to four officers from this State—Captain William R. Montgomery, and

Lieutenants N. Beakes Rossell, Fowler Hamilton, and Samuel G. French, of the United States army.

A new military establishment was created upon the 11th of February, 1847, when Congress passed an act raising ten new regiments for the regular army. Under the law three companies were recruited for the Tenth Regiment, commanded by Colonel Robert E. Temple. Under a presidential call for troops New Jersey was required, in April, 1847, to furnish five companies of infantry, to be organized into a battalion and rendezvoused at Trenton. Each company was to consist of eighty privates between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, and Captain Minor Knowlton, of the First Artillery, United States Army, was designated to muster in the volunteer force of New Jersey. Of the five companies but four were organized, nor was it until the 29th of September, 1847, that the New Jersey troops left New York Harbor on the ship "Senator" en route for Vera Cruz. Peace having been declared upon July 4, 1848, the volunteers returned to Fort Hamilton upon the 22d of that month, and upon the 3d, 4th, and 5th of August were mustered out. Of the Tenth Regiment companies E, G, and H were raised in New Jersey, these in May, 1847, being sent forward to Matamoras. Returning on the ship "Pharsalia" and the bark "General Taylor," these companies were mustered out late in August, 1848. In the

organization of the New Jersey battalion infantry volunteers Dickinson Woodruff was lieutenant-colonel, the first lieutenant being Edwin Milford Bard and the assistant quartermaster Isaac W. Mickle. The captain of Company A was Henry A. Naglee from May 17, 1847, to April 1, 1848, when he was succeeded by Assistant Quartermaster Isaac W. Mickle. Company B had for its captains James Reynolds and Francis Harrison. The captain of Company C was David McDowell and of Company D David Pierson.

In the Tenth Regiment Infantry, United States Army, Company E had for its captain Samuel Dickinson, while Joseph A. Yard was captain of Company G. Owing to the death of Captain Joshua W. Collet, by reason of a duel, Samuel R. Drummer was subsequently elected captain of Company H.

Of the New Jerseymen, officers in the United States army and navy, during the war with Mexico many attained great distinction and some served during the war for the preservation of the Union. Colonel Harvey Brown had been honored by brevet in the war against the Florida Indians, and was advanced in rank after the battle of Contreras and for "gallant conduct at the gate of Belen, City of Mexico." Israel Carle Woodruff, James William Abert, Robert Stockton Williamson, William R. Palmer, and Augustus Canfield

later gained laurels as topographical engineers. Major Lewis Golding Arnold was brevetted for gallantry at Contreras, Cherubusco, and Chapultepec, as were Captain Samuel Gibbs French for his conduct at Monterey and Buena Vista and Colonel William Reading Montgomery at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. To Nathan Beakes Rossell was given the position of major by brevet for his gallantry at Molino del Rey, while James Wall Schureman was honored with a first lieutenancy for his services at Contreras and Cherubusco. After meritorious conduct at Chapultepec George Clinton Westcott was brevetted captain.

But it was not until the year 1858 that New Jersey, as a State, gave to the veterans of the Mexican War a tardy recognition of their services. Upon the 17th of March of that year, a decade having passed since the four companies of the New Jersey battalion sailed out of New York Harbor, the official thanks of the citizens of New Jersey were tendered the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, while the governor was directed to issue commissions to surviving commissioned officers of the battalion in service at the termination of hostilities, conferring upon such officers a brevet rank of the next highest grade to that held by them respectively while in actual service during the war.







**I**T WAS not until the year 1850 that the affairs of the State banks of New Jersey, after a legislative history of nearly half a century, became subjected to anything like a thorough scrutiny on the part of the authorities. As a phase of that movement of social revolution marking the later thirties and the forties, the banks of New Jersey, with their more or less autocratic management, were later subjected to the operations of the new act. The statute was framed more in the interest of depositors than in favor of those who had so long managed many of the banks in accordance with their wills, if not in accordance with their consciences. Under the new statute the state treasurer was authorized to have printed bank notes of all denominations not less than one dollar. These he might issue to any associations of persons formed for the purpose of doing a banking business, under the provisions of the act, in exchange for the public stocks of New Jersey, the United States, or the State of Massachusetts, dollar for dollar, provided the stocks were productive of a six per cent. rate of interest per annum. He was prohibited from taking such stock at a rate above its par value of not less than one hundred cents on the dollar. Notes for circulation issued under this act and remaining outstanding were not at any time to exceed three million dollars.

The banks were authorized, after having executed and signed such notes for circulation so as to make them obligatory promissory notes payable on demand, without interest, to circulate them as money.

The treasurer was authorized to give to the bank transferring stock to him powers of attorney, to receive the interest and dividends thereon, which the banks might apply to their own use. Such powers were to be revoked upon a bank failing to redeem the circulating notes it had issued, or whenever, in the judgment of the state treasurer, the principal of the stock held by him had become insufficient security. In such a case he was to receive dividends on all stocks, as well as the interest on all bonds and mortgages deposited by such banking association. These dividends and interest were to be deposited in some safe bank in the State, in his name, in trust for the association to which it belonged. The deposit was to be made on such terms and such rate of interest, not beyond the legal rate, as the state treasurer deemed most conducive to the interests of the association, and to be withdrawn and paid over whenever, in his judgment, the securities of such association were sufficient to warrant it.

The law provided that, instead of transferring public stocks as security for circulating bills, banks might secure one-third of the whole amount

of the issue by making and executing directly to the state treasurer, or by transferring to him, bonds and mortgages upon real estate, payable at a period not exceeding one year and bearing interest at six per cent. Before such bonds and mortgages were accepted as security it was required that they should have the approval of the State's attorney-general.

It was required also that the mortgages should be upon improved, productive, unencumbered lands within the State of New Jersey, worth, independent of any buildings thereon, at least triple the amount of the mortgage, and that no mortgage for a greater amount than five thousand dollars should be taken.

In the event of such security becoming insufficient for the payment of the bills and notes issued the State treasurer was directed to notify the president of the banking association of the fact and he was required within five days to place in the State treasurer's hands such amount of securities as would secure, in full, the notes issued. If the president of the banking association neglected to produce the securities in the required time the treasurer was authorized to take measures for winding up the affairs of the institution by paying all the circulating notes issued by such association out of the trust funds in his hands for that purpose, and selling at public auction the stocks,

bonds, and mortgages pledged by the members of the association as security.

To defray the cost of making the plates and dies and printing the notes and bills each bank was required to pay an assessment. A banking association was required to have seven members, and an aggregate capital stock of not less than fifty thousand dollars nor more than five hundred thousand dollars. Any creditor shareholder of a bank, whose shares or debts amounted to one thousand dollars, could secure an investigation of the affairs of the institution through a master in chancery appointed for that purpose by the chancellor.

In 1851 the act was amended so as to admit the taking of the stocks of the States of New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Virginia as securities. When this law went into effect there were in operation in the State, under the law of 1812, twenty-four banks with an aggregate capital of \$3,596,720, circulation \$2,548,352.99, specie \$630,734.46, and deposits \$1,886,595.30.

Thence until 1863, when the national banking law was passed, the State banks, organized under the general banking law of 1850, varied in number. In 1852 there were nineteen associations; in 1854 there were fifteen; in 1856 six complied with the law; 1859 found eleven banks; in 1860 there were eight; and in 1863 there were twelve such institutions. The amount of se-

curities held by these banks ranged from four hundred thousand dollars in 1856 to one million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars in 1863, with practically a proportionate range in circulation.

Until the passage of the general banking law of 1850 the history of State banking in New Jersey had not been unlike that of other States. Though not as apparent as in the present mid-West there was the ever present spirit of recklessness and defiance of State authority. The charters of the New Jersey banks were liberal in the extreme, leading often to flagrant abuses; and while the majority of such institutions were conceived in honesty yet their subsequent management was so surcharged with the spirit of speculation that even the most conservative fell under its influence.

The position of New Jersey between the banking centers of New York and Philadelphia led to an early agitation concerning the desirability of banks. Upon the shores of the Hudson Alexander Hamilton's Bank of New York had commenced business in 1784. A branch of the Bank of the United States and Aaron Burr's Manhattan Bank were also in active operation. In Philadelphia the Bank of North America, chartered by Congress in 1781 and by the State of Pennsylvania in 1782, and the Bank of Pennsylvania were in existence, yet these facilities were insufficient for New Jersey. By 1804 there had developed a small

center of industry at Newark, while a river and country trade was beginning to make Trenton a town of importance, particularly as the project of a bridge crossing the Delaware was destined to divert travel from Pennsylvania to that town. To accommodate the merchants of the eastern and western portions of the State, to upbuild the respective communities, and to overcome the trials of journeys to Philadelphia and New York two important banks were established by act of the Legislature during the year 1804—one in Newark, the first bank in the State, and the other a few months afterward in Trenton.

To many, indeed to the mass, of the people at the opening of the nineteenth century a bank was a mystery. A thousand fears as to the ultimate safety of their money surged through the breasts of the first depositors, whose ancestors for centuries had hidden hard-earned gold and silver in the feet of old stockings, and had put the hoard in a place of safety under a movable stone in the kitchen floor, or behind a loose board in the wainscoted closet of the "best room." The art of the banker in taking funds and promising to return interest savored much of the methods of the travelling showmen, who drew rabbits from the pockets of the town boys gathered upon the village common or extracted bird-cages from the clinging folds of the gowns of the daughters of the "qual-



ity" gathered in awe-struck but respectful admiration. Few saw how a name on a piece of paper with another man's name on the back could bring money from a secret, iron-bound oak chest, and fewer still saw how the bank could be repaid. Those were rare old days in 1800, but they were financially crude. Yet in spite of opposition, and with the burden of educating future customers, the Newark Banking and Insurance Company was incorporated, its first president being the well known Elisha Boudinot.

The business of the bank began in the parlor of Smith Burnet's residence on Broad Street, and the first depositor was Justice Boudinot himself, who intrusted to the bank three hundred dollars. When the books were closed on the first day's business they showed that four thousand dollars had been deposited. Cash came in so rapidly during the next four or five days that the directors decided to open an account with the Manhattan Bank of New York, to which institution the funds were taken, and there they remained until the following year, when the company erected a commodious bank building in Newark. The Newark Banking and Insurance Company began business with a capitalization of eight hundred thousand dollars, of which three hundred and fifty thousand was paid in, and for the privilege of operating it paid the State a bonus of \$1,482. The bank's char-

ter ran for a period of twenty years, and when it was extended for the third time the bank changed its name to the Newark Banking Company and became a national bank. During the sixty years of its existence as a chartered institution the Newark bank's business increased until, when it became a national bank, its assets amounted to \$2,285,695.

In 1804, as a part of the Paulus Hook project, the Jersey Bank was also organized.

The organization of the Trenton Banking Company, in 1804, presents an equally if not more interesting career. Organized with a capital of six hundred thousand dollars, about one-third was paid in. The first president of the institution was Isaac Smith, who was for many years an associate justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey. He had been a member of the Continental Congress and a colonel in the Continental Army. When the bank was started the State refused to accept a bonus, reserving the right to subscribe for stock, which was done in 1810 to the amount of \$24,000. This was carried for the benefit of the public schools. The first loan to the State, amounting to \$32,000, was made for military purposes December 17, 1813, during the war with England.

The success of the banks at Newark and Trenton led to the incorporation of a bank at New

Brunswick in 1807, with a capital of \$200,000, of which \$90,000 was paid in. The bonus paid the State was \$6,000.

The year 1812 marked the establishment of a series of State banks under an act of the Legislature approved January 28th and signed by the federalist governor, Aaron Ogden. There was still much distrust concerning the private banks and it was a strong appeal that was made to the Legislature to the end that the House of Assembly and Council enact a law under which State banks might be organized and which would give the depositor some assurance that his interests were reasonably secure. Under these auspices "State banks" at Camden, Trenton, New Brunswick, Elizabeth, Newark, and Morristown, were created, the charter of each to run twenty years.

The law provided that the shares of these banks should be fixed at a valuation of fifty dollars each, and that half of the capital subscribed should be reserved for the State. No subscription for stock was to be received from any but citizens of New Jersey for the first five days that the subscription books were opened to the public. A commission of reliable citizens was appointed by the Legislature to receive subscriptions for the stock of each bank. If at the end of fifteen days more stock had been subscribed than had been

issued an equitable deduction was to be made from those who had been the largest purchasers. The president and directors of the institutions were appointed by the Legislature for the first year, at the end of which time the stockholders were to elect directors, who should choose a president of the board. The rate of discount of bills and notes of the banks was not to be more than seven per cent., and dividends were to be declared every six months.

The law provided that the banks should not at any time loan or discount a greater sum than double the amount of the capital stock paid in. It was declared also that banks could not own vessels, or directly or indirectly be concerned in trade, or the importation or exportation, purchase or sale, of any goods unless pledged to them as security for debts. The same provision applied to real estate.

The amount of indebtedness that the banks might incur was fixed at a sum not to exceed twice the amount of the capital stock paid in, over and above the deposits made with the bank for safe keeping. In the event of this limit being exceeded the directors under whose administration the excess occurred were held liable for the amount in their individual and private capacities. If there were directors who were not present when the debt was contracted there was an opportunity

for them to escape the liability by notifying the state treasurer of the fact. The banks were required to make a report of their assets and liabilities each year to the state treasurer. No notes were to be issued at a less value than three dollars, but a universal demand for currency of a similar denomination resulted in an amendment to the law in 1813, which enabled the banks to issue notes of the denomination of one dollar.

Encouraged by this action of the Legislature, men with capital and brains went into the banking business in all parts of the State, and they thrived, in many instances, at the expense of stockholders and depositors. Excepting a few immaterial amendments, the banking law of 1812 stood unchanged until 1850.

Following the incorporation of the State banks of 1812 banks were incorporated in Paterson and Mount Holly in 1815, while in the next year the Cumberland Bank in Bridgeton was chartered. After the panic of 1817 New Jersey with the other States gave banking privileges to corporations organized for manufacturing and transportation purposes. Thus in 1822 the Salem Steam Mill and Banking Company, in 1823 the New Jersey Manufacturing and Banking Company, of Hoboken, and in 1824 the Morris Canal and Banking Company came into existence. During the third decade of the century the Commercial, of Perth

Amboy (1822), the Franklin, of Jersey City (1824), the People's, of Paterson (1824), the Salem Banking Company (1825), the Farmers and Mechanics, of Rahway (1826), and the Orange Bank (1828) were chartered. In 1830 State banks were organized at Middletown Point and Belvidere, while in 1831 the Mechanics, at Newark, and in 1832 the Mechanics, at Paterson, received charters. The year 1834 saw new banks in New Brunswick, Trenton, Belleville and Princeton, while in 1837 the legislative flood tide of incorporation brought additional institutions to Newark, Bergen Point, Medford, Elizabeth, Plainfield and Hamburg. Between 1832 and 1836 the State bank craze had swept over the United States, increasing the number of banks from two hundred and eighty-eight to five hundred and eighty-three. To this total New Jersey was a contributor, although the vast majority operated in the South and middle West.

With the evil days of 1837 came the reaping of the reward of speculation, of flooding New Jersey with depreciated paper money, and of defiance of State authority. In 1837 a commission was appointed by the Legislature to examine into the condition of the banks in the State and report to that body. This report was not very flattering to the officers of some of the combination manufacturing and banking concerns. Although the law required that the bank officials should make an

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annual report to the state treasurer of the financial condition of the banks many of them refused or neglected to do so. The result of the investigation instigated by the Legislature was the winding up of the business of several "wildcat" concerns and the general purification of the financial atmosphere.

An instance of popular sentiment may be cited illustrative of the intensely feverish state of the public mind during 1837. In that year a "run" was made upon the Trenton Banking Company and there were not enough funds in the vaults to meet the demand. There was no railroad at that time between Trenton and Philadelphia. But some measure had to be taken to save the bank. Benjamin Fish, of Trenton, one of the directors, drove to Philadelphia, loaded a wagon with silver, returned to Trenton, and unloaded the coin in front of the bank. The sight of the money inspired the excited depositors with confidence and they quickly withdrew, satisfied that the bank had the ability to redeem its notes in coin on demand.

The suspension of specie payment characterized the action of all the other banks in the State during 1837, with the exception of the Paterson Bank. The Sussex Bank suspended such payment for a few days only.

Upon March 5, 1842, specie payments were re-

sumed and a law was passed warning the banks not to issue notes, bills or drafts prior to the 15th day of August of that year, fixing as a penalty for violation of the law the forfeiture of their charters. Thence until the passage of the national banking act of 1863 the history of banks in New Jersey presents no distinctive elements of general interest.







**I**NTO the gubernatorial election of 1829 was injected the strong personality of a New Jerseyman who did not seek the office, and who immediately after election was compelled to decline the position. This was owing to devotion to his family, his increasing law practice, and the fact that he had been appointed United States attorney for the District of New Jersey. To this was added a dislike for any judicial position, which as governor and chancellor he would have been compelled to assume. Such was the attitude of Garret D. Wall, whose name was presented to the joint meeting in opposition to that of Isaac H. Williamson.

Garret D. Wall had been bred in Federalism, but as he himself said his change to Democracy had been "a plant of slow growth," and was the result of "reflection, experience, and a conquest over error and prejudice," much unlike the change experienced by Samuel L. Southard, who, reversing Mr. Wall's political experience, "went to bed one night a Democrat and rose the next morning a Federalist." But once the change had come Garret D. Wall became a central figure in that Democracy which circled around the political luminary, Andrew Jackson. The days of conservatism were passing away; with this election and the defeat of Governor Williamson the last shreds of even nominally organized Federalism were scat-

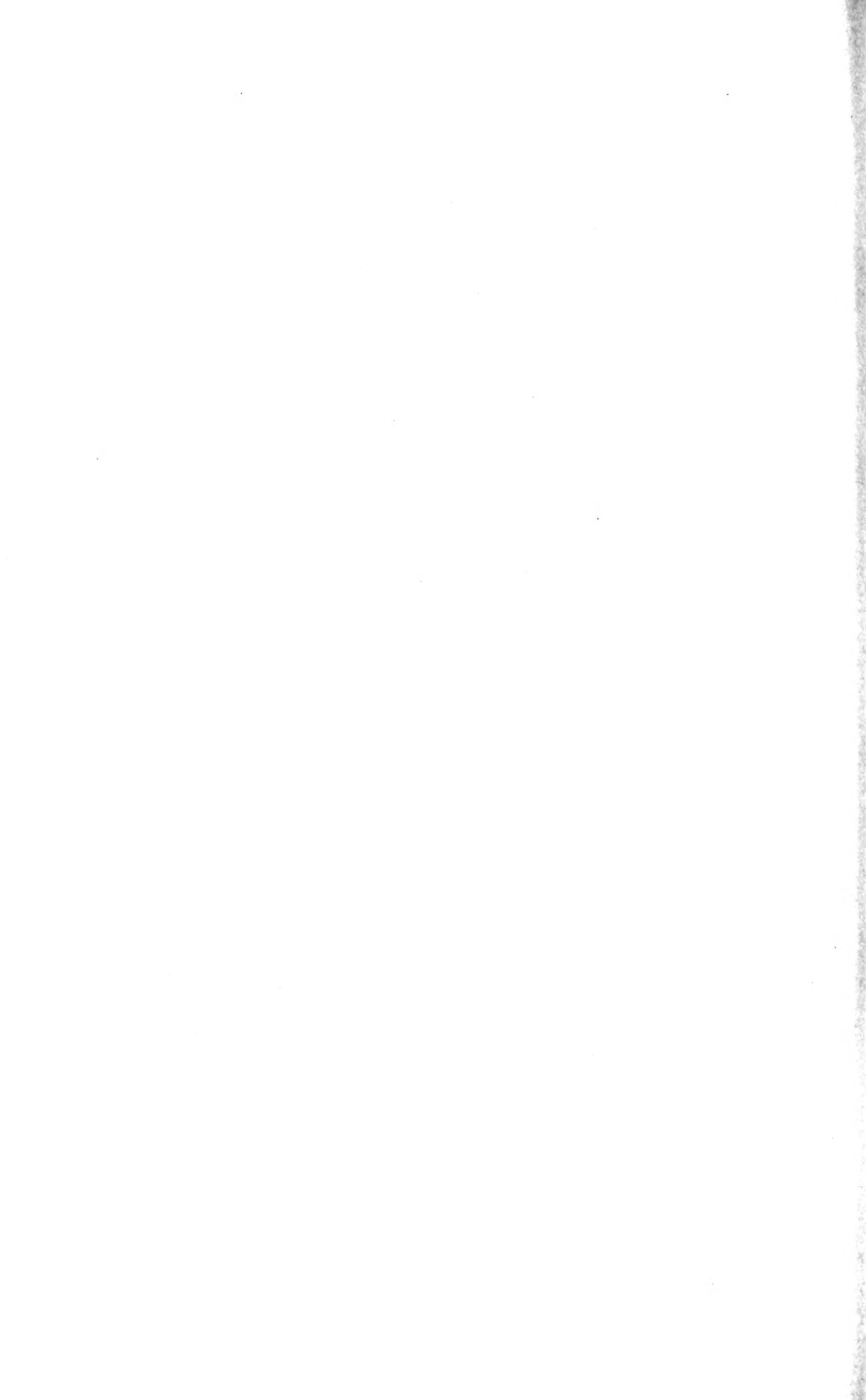
tered to the winds. Another candidate also appeared, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court William Chetwood, a Jackson Federalist, who secured but two votes, the member of Council from Somerset and a member of the house from Middlesex County. The election of governor in the year 1829 took place upon the 30th of October. Governor Williamson contesting as his own successor, secured the votes of members of Council from Bergen, Essex, Cumberland, and Cape May Counties. Of the House of Assembly he had two of three from Bergen County, two of four from Essex County, one of four from Hunterdon County, one of three from Somerset County, one of four from Burlington County, and solid delegations from Cumberland and Cape May Counties. This gave him fifteen votes.

It was on the 6th of November, 1829, that Mr. Wall tendered his resignation of the office and upon the same day the joint meeting selected Peter D. Vroom governor of New Jersey. Like Mr. Wall Governor Vroom's early life had been spent under Federalistic influences, but in 1824, with his father, Colonel Peter D. Vroom, Sr., he had espoused the cause of Jackson, when the candidacy of John Quincy Adams had renewed the bitterness felt against the Massachusetts leader, the outgrowth of his previous desertion of Federalism for the party of Thomas Jefferson. For three



*Gerrit D. Mall*

Drawn by C. Fendrich. From a steel plate engraved by V. Balch.)



years Mr. Vroom had represented Somerset County in the House of Assembly, and it was the occasion for little surprise that the administration party in 1829 should select him as the party leader. His opponent was Isaac H. Williamson, whose vote was unchanged from that cast upon the 30th of October, except the member of the House from Burlington voted for Mr. Vroom. The vote thus stood forty-two to thirteen. Upon the 29th of October, 1830, and the 28th of October, 1831, Mr. Vroom was reëlected without opposition.

The election for governor held upon the 26th of October, 1832, resulted in the choice of Samuel L. Southard. As the first representative of the newly-formed Whig party Mr. Southard defeated his only antagonist, Peter D. Vroom. The former governor had solid delegations from the Counties of Bergen, Somerset, Sussex, Warren, and Hunterdon, with a member of Council and one of four members of the House from Monmouth County. The vote in Mr. Southard's favor was forty to twenty-four.

During the few short months of Governor Southard's occupancy of the chair he communicated to the Legislature the South Carolina "Nullification Ordinance," upon which subject he concurred in the views of President Jackson, for whom he had a high personal regard, but feared the effect of his violent passions. This fear was

expressed in Governor Southard's message to the Legislature, in which, treating upon President Jackson's bitter hostility toward the act of South Carolina, he regretted "expressions which might be regarded as personal invective."

The resignation of Mr. Southard, upon February 27, 1833, to accept the United States senatorship brought forward three candidates for the succession. They were Elias P. Seeley, Cornelius L. Hardenbergh, and Joseph W. Scott. While these candidates had attained distinction none had secured the conspicuous positions occupied by their predecessors. In the vote taken upon the 27th of February, 1833, Elias P. Seeley, the Whig candidate, secured thirty members, Hardenbergh twenty-one, and Scott eight. The Hardenbergh vote was obtained from solid delegations from the Counties of Bergen, Somerset, Sussex, Warren (except one member of the House), and Hunterdon (except the member of Council), and a member of the House and a member of Council from Monmouth County. For Scott the delegation from Middlesex County voted solidly, with two members of the House from Monmouth County.

The year during which Elias P. Seeley was governor was rendered memorable by the arguments in the Hicksite-Orthodox case during the month of July. Upon an appeal to the Court of Appeals, of which, as governor, he was presiding officer,



Seeley recommended, as stated by Judge Elmer in his "Reminiscences," that the litigant parties "should make an amicable compromise in regard to the property in dispute." Special legislation afterward provided that all the "rights, estates, property, and privileges of the members of the unincorporated Society of Friends" should not be hurt or affected by the separation.

With the return of the Democratic party to power Peter D. Vroom, from October 25, 1833, to October 28, 1836, occupied the executive office. The intervening elections occurred October 31, 1834, and October 30, 1835. No candidates are upon record as opposing Mr. Vroom, nor is there any detail of vote. Upon the 28th of October, 1836, Mr. Vroom, although unanimously appointed, declined reëlection, owing to ill health, and upon November 3 of that year the House and Council, by a vote of thirty-three to twenty-five, chose Philemon Dickerson as Mr. Vroom's successor. Mr. Dickerson's opponent was William Pennington. Mr. Pennington had solid delegations from the Counties of Essex, Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, and Cape May, a member of Council and one member of the House from Middlesex, and a member of Council and two members of the House from Somerset County.

Philemon Dickerson was a brother of Mahlon Dickerson, who had been governor from 1815 to

1817. Both had been adherents of the doctrines of the Democratic party, represented by the republicanism of Thomas Jefferson or the broader ideals of Andrew Jackson. But with the crisis of 1837, with the political revolution that drove New Jersey into Whiggery, the administration of the Democrats tumbled from power. Yet the year 1837, on the 27th of October, found Dickerson and Pennington again striving for gubernatorial honors. The name of Joseph Warren Scott had been presented, but was withdrawn. The situation in 1836 had been reversed, Pennington being elected by a vote of forty-three to twenty-four. Dickerson had solid delegations from Bergen, Cumberland, Sussex, Hunterdon, Warren, and Atlantic Counties. Thence until 1843, constantly contesting for his seat, William Pennington remained governor.

William Pennington enjoyed the peculiar distinction of occupying the executive office as the successor of his father, William S. Pennington, who had been governor from 1813 to 1815. The son, as a Democrat, had supported John Quincy Adams as against Andrew Jackson, had followed his varying fortunes, assimilating the remnants of the old-line Federalists, and formed a new party known as the National Republicans. These in 1834 became the Whigs, of which party he was, during the years he occupied the ex-

ecutive chair, the acknowledged leader. Two candidates appeared against Governor Pennington upon October 26, 1838. One was George Cassey, whose name was withdrawn, the other was James S. Green. The vote for Pennington was thirty-eight, for Green twenty-six, the defeated candidate having solid delegations from Bergen, Salem, Hunterdon, Sussex, Warren, and Atlantic Counties, together with the member of Council and three members of the House from Monmouth County.

Upon the 25th of October, 1839, four candidates appeared: William Pennington, Henry A. Ford, James S. Green, and Samuel R. Hamilton. No votes appeared for Messrs. Green or Hamilton. Pennington was successful against Mr. Ford by a vote of forty-two to twenty-six, Mr. Ford having solid delegations from the Counties of Bergen, Salem, Hunterdon, Sussex, Warren, Atlantic and Monmouth.

William Pennington and Henry A. Ford were subsequently candidates upon October 30, 1840. Ford succeeded in capturing solid delegations from Bergen, Hunterdon, Warren, Sussex and Atlantic—twelve votes in all against Pennington's fifty-three.

Against William Pennington in the election of November 2, 1841, Peter D. Vroom was a candidate. By a vote of forty-four to thirty Mr. Vroom

was defeated. Vroom's vote was cast by solid delegations from Sussex, Atlantic, Bergen, Hunterdon, Salem, and Monmouth Counties, one member of the House and the member of Council from Passaic, two of four members of the House and member of Council from Gloucester, and two members of the House from Warren County.

In the year 1842, upon the 28th of October, the candidate appearing against William Pennington was Stacy G. Potts, the latter being defeated by a vote of forty-two to thirty-three. Mr. Potts received the votes of solid delegations from Sussex, Bergen, Atlantic, Warren, Cumberland, Hunterdon, Middlesex, and Monmouth Counties, and a member of the House from Morris County.

During Pennington's administration there had been formed in various parts of the State a movement opposed to the Pennington name, which was bitterly attacked, particularly in its stronghold, the County of Essex. To this movement the Democrats lent their aid, largely as a matter of revenge for the attitude taken by the governor during the "Broad Seal War" of 1838. Although not personally subjected to partisan abuse Governor Pennington was unable to withstand the storm of opposition. It was, moreover, plainly evident to every man of intelligence in the State that the days of the constitution of 1776 were numbered, and that the changes of the future held

in store were momentous if not revolutionary. Everywhere the cry of "anti-monopoly" and "popular rights" had been raised. The end of the old political order had indeed come.

Five candidates appeared upon the 27th of October, 1843, the last election for governor held under the constitution of 1776. Against Governor Pennington, the Whig candidate, appeared Richard P. Thompson, Garret D. Wall, Elias B. D. Ogden, and James S. Green, all of whom were Democrats, and all of whom retired from the contest, leaving the field to Daniel Haines and Pennington, the former being elected by a vote of forty-four to twenty-six. Mr. Pennington received the votes of members of Council from the Counties of Cape May, Burlington, and Cumberland, four of the five members of the House from Burlington, one member of the House from each of the Counties of Gloucester, Hudson, and Cumberland, and the solid delegations of Essex, Mercer, and Somerset.

Governor Haines had been an active Jacksonian Democrat, had been a member of Council during the Broad Seal War, had, as a member of the bar and as a politician, given Sussex County its early distinctive position as a Democratic stronghold, and had been an earnest friend of constitutional revision. So great was his popularity that within a week after his name was mentioned he was

elected governor, which position he held until his successor, Charles C. Stratton, was inaugurated in January, 1845. Governor Haines's occupancy of the office from October, 1844, to January, 1845, was authorized under a temporary provision continuing the governor, chancellor, ordinary or surrogate-general, and treasurer until their successors should be sworn into office.

With the induction into office of Charles C. Stratton there came the opportunity for direct expression of popular will; yet it is quite worthy of notice that the revolutions in the office of governor of the State were but an expression of the unrest in the popular mind, so far as the Legislature reflected the opinions of the masses. It has been seen that the gubernatorial office was filled by Federalists from 1776 to 1801, a period of twenty-five years; by Republicans (Democrats) from 1801 to 1832, with the exception of 1812-1813, a period of thirty-two years. In other words in fifty-six years there were but three partisan transfers of the office. But during the era of unrest the office was held by the Whigs from 1832 to 1833, by the Democrats from 1833 to 1837, by the Whigs again from 1837 to 1843, and by the Democrats from 1843 to 1845. Thus in a period of thirteen years the office underwent six transfers.

From 1844 to 1856 the State elections in New Jersey were most vitally affected by the status of

the Camden and Amboy Railroad. In their political sympathies and affiliations the directorate of the board of that corporation was allied to the Democratic party, and between that organization and the officers of the company an intimate relation existed. The friends of the railroad supported the claim that the Camden and Amboy was a New Jersey railroad, whose stock was largely owned by Jerseymen, whose officers were Jerseymen, in short a corporation organized by and for the interests of the State. The railroad had been constructed at great expense, it had revolutionized methods of transportation, was quick to grasp any new and useful invention tending to increase speed, or provide for the safety and comfort of its passengers. The "anti-monopolists" contended that the railroad had entered every field of political activity, had extended, if not practically introduced, the use of money in elections, national, State, and local, had distributed official positions among its favorites, creating a great "machine," and by throttling competition had prevented possible corporations from reducing rates charged for conveying passengers and freights.

The State and national elections in the autumn of 1844 had resulted in the triumph of the Whigs. New Jersey had cast her seven electoral votes for Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey. For President Clay's ma-

majority in New Jersey was eight hundred and twenty-three. In this election the nomination of Theodore Frelinghuysen had stirred the people of the State. His unostentatious piety, his powers as an orator, his excellent judgment, had made him a conspicuous figure in State life. Serving as attorney-general of New Jersey and as United States senator, he had later become chancellor of the University of New York, and had been relied upon to sustain the Whig cause in the East, particularly as the Democratic administration had become unpopular. Owing to the industrial depression in 1837 and its extremely serious consequences, coupled with the restiveness of the people of the State, New Jersey had in the election of 1836 cast her vote for William Henry Harrison and Francis Granger, Whig candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. This action had been reflected in the selection of William Pennington as governor. So well had Whiggery intrenched itself in New Jersey that in 1840 the State gave a majority of 2,327 to William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, and Francis Granger, of New York, respectively Whig candidates for President and Vice-President. Not even the name of Martin Van Buren could draw New Jersey into the Democratic ranks in a campaign made memorable by 'coon skins, log cabins, cider barrels, vast





*Frø. Melinghusen*



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meetings, songs, rural parades, and intense excitement in hamlet and in city.

The first election for governor under the new constitution resulted in the choice of Charles C. Stratton by a plurality of 1,358 over his Democratic opponent, John R. Thompson. The Whig platform embraced the doctrine of protection to American manufactures, a protest against the extension of slavery by means of the acquisition of foreign territory, although recognizing the compromise of the federal constitution, and unaltering opposition to the Camden and Amboy Railroad Company. Whig candidates who appeared against Charles C. Stratton were Joseph Porter, Jesse Richards, William P. Robeson, John C. Smallwood, and General Peter I. Stryker, while the opponents of John R. Thompson were John Cassedy and Thomas G. Haight.

The election for governor which occurred in 1847 resulted in the choice of Daniel Haines, a Democrat, although the Whigs remained in control of the Senate and the House. Into the Whig State platform of that year no new "planks" of interest were introduced, except to charge that the Mexican War had been conducted by "politician officers who had never drilled a corporal's guard." Governor Haines succeeded in defeating his opponent, William Wright, by a plurality of 2,599. The other Whig candidates for the nomination

were William P. Robeson and John Runk. Following upon the heels of the State election came the presidential contest of 1848, when Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore, whom the Whigs had nominated for the presidency and vice-presidency, received the electoral votes of New Jersey. Taylor's plurality was 3,144.

The gubernatorial election of 1850 threw the entire political machinery of New Jersey into the hands of the Democratic party. Since 1844 the Whigs had controlled the Legislature, while for the next five years the mastery of the Democratic party in the House and Senate was absolute. As a candidate the Whigs nominated John Runk, of Hunterdon County, other candidates for the honor being Joseph Porter, of Camden, Thomas Jones Yorke, of Salem, William N. Wood, of Morris, Martin J. Ryerson, of Passaic, and George H. Brown, of Somerset, with William A. Newell, of Monmouth County, this being the first appearance of that distinguished Jerseyman as a candidate for governor. The nominee of the Democrats was George F. Fort, of Ocean County, who after five ballots defeated his rivals, John Cassedy, of Hudson, Jonathan Pitney, of Atlantic, John Summerhill, Jr., of Salem, Isaac G. Farlee, of Hunterdon, and Henry A. Ford, of Morris. The Whig platform was mainly devoted to a reaffirmance of the policy of protection for American in-

dustries, while the Democrats advocated popular education, equal taxation and general in place of special legislation. Governor Fort succeeded in defeating Mr. Runk with a then unprecedented majority of 5,669. In 1852 the Democratic electoral vote of New Jersey was cast for Franklin Pierce for President and William R. King for Vice-President, defeating General Winfield Scott, the Whig candidate. Pierce's plurality in the State was 5,749. Hale, the "Free-soil" candidate for President, received but three hundred and fifty votes in New Jersey, his strength lying largely in New England, New York, and Ohio.

The reëstablishment of New Jersey in the Democratic column gave the Whigs but little hope for victory during the contest for the governorship in 1853. The success of the Democrats had been so pronounced that no less than eighteen candidates appeared as contestants for the nomination, requiring six ballots before the choice of the convention fell upon Rodman M. Price. These candidates were E. R. V. Wright, Thomas W. Arrow-smith, William C. Alexander, Phineas B. Kennedy, Alexander Wurts, Henry Hilliard, John Huyler, John Cassedy, John W. Fennimore, John R. Slack, Littleton Kirkpatrick, George Sykes, S. D. Canfield, Dr. John R. Sickler, T. W. Mulford, Daniel Barcalow, and John R. Darcy. The Democrats had a popular candidate and a popular

platform, declaring their adherence to the "Monroe doctrine," favored the annexation of Cuba, general legislation, particularly that encouraging labor, the regulation of working hours for the young in factories, the extension of the rights of married women, the adoption of a wider plan of general education, and the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean. The Whig convention had nominated Joel Haywood, of Ocean County, other candidates being James S. Nevius, of Middlesex, George H. Brown, of Somerset, and William J. Shinn, of Salem. Aside from agreement with the Democrats as to the extension of the system of public education the Whig platform recommended internal improvements supported by the funds of the federal government. The most vital part of the document was an arraignment of the Camden and Amboy Railroad, stating that the claims of special privilege were inconsistent with a republican form of government, and closing a lengthy paragraph with a caustic attack upon corporations and monopolies. Governor Price's majority over Haywood was 3,782.

The year 1856 was momentous, not only in the history of the nation, but of the State. Disorganization was in the air; some predicted the dissolution of constituted government. The election of Pierce and King in 1852 had but postponed the

evil day, while the struggle for Kansas and the success of the pro-slavery men in establishing their policy on the " virgin soil " had aroused the North. Men turned toward safety, yet knew not where to go. In New Jersey, as elsewhere, both Whigs and Democrats had temporized; both feared the fearful consequences of precipitating the conflict. As a political organization the Whigs were practically extinct. The end had come quickly, and had not been prolonged as in the death of Federalism. The " Compromise " of 1850, the deaths of Webster and Clay in 1852, the execution of the " fugitive slave law," the passage of the " Kansas-Nebraska " bill, had tended to weaken and finally destroy the party. The Democratic party, meanwhile, not only in New Jersey, but throughout the eastern portion of the United States, had become strong, but unweildy. It had assimilated most of the large body of emigrants. In the North the foreign element had already arisen to a degree of power in the councils of the party, and by enterprise and special aptitude had obtained partial control of the industrial situation. To the " old line Whigs," this new blood, assertive and energetic, was obnoxious. The specious plea was made that the nation's " institutions, liberties, and system of government were at the mercy of men from the monarchical countries of Europe."

There was thus no apparent haven of refuge for the Whigs.

In 1854, in the then distant State of Wisconsin, had been born a new party, which, having taken a part of the old name of its logical opponent, had swept eastward, and in two short years, by the use of "fusion" methods, had absorbed "Free-soilers," anti-Nebraska Democrats, Whigs, Abolitionists, and Native Americans. Thus it was that the Republican party entered the national contest.

In the month of June, 1856, upon the 5th, there had assembled in Trenton men of varying shades of belief, called, as its platform said, not as a mere party, but to represent "the great body of the patriotic, enlightened, and conservative people of New Jersey opposed to the present State and Federal administration." Of this new party, still without a name, but known as the "Opposition party," the chairman was William Lewis Dayton, who, as an "old line Whig," associate justice of the Supreme Court, United States senator from New Jersey, a friend of the protective tariff, and opposed to slavery, had become a conspicuous figure in New Jersey politics. The State platform of the "Opposition" party, which was immediately identified with the Republican movement, was devoted to national issues. In general terms it charged the Democrats with improvidence and recklessness, that the federal administration had



violated the "Missouri Compromise," and had permitted "outrages" in Kansas. For the gubernatorial honors there were several candidates: Beach Vanderpool, of Essex, Joseph Franklin, of Gloucester, William Parry, of Burlington, Ephraim Marsh, of Morris, Dudley S. Gregory, of Hudson, Charles S. Olden, of Mercer, and David Ryerson, of Sussex County. But the choice of the convention fell upon William A. Newell, of Monmouth County.

The new Republican party in New Jersey embraced many of the Whigs, led by such men as Frederick T. Frelinghuysen and Abraham O. Zabriskie, while a conspicuous figure in the convention was John H. Jones, of Camden, a recognized leader of the Native American or "Know Nothing" movement, a political organization so-called because its members, when asked about the organization and its secret ritualistic work, knew nothing of the existence of such a body. The Native American movement, whose support John H. Jones pledged to the Republican party in New Jersey, had arisen in Louisiana during 1841, and after a degree of success, incidentally electing a member of the House of Assembly in New Jersey during 1845, had declined in influence. In 1852 the movement again appeared in New York City, the entrance point into the United States of the mass of immigrants, and as a secret society, with

grips, signs, and passwords, in two years won in the elections in Massachusetts, New York, and Delaware. Southern Whigs also joined the party. To combat the influences which its members stated were incidental to unrestricted immigration the Native Americans had for fundamental principles the restriction of officeholding to native Americans, a residence of twenty-one years in the United States before naturalization, the use of the Bible in the public schools, and the abolition of abuses incident to securing naturalization.

The influence of the Native American movement during this period was potent. In New Jersey, during the session of 1855, the Know Nothings succeeded in securing a senator and six members of Assembly, in 1856 four senators and fifteen members of Assembly, in 1857 three senators, but no members of the lower house, and after that year disappeared from State politics, its principles, in part or in whole, being later advocated by a number of secret societies having extensive membership. Upon June 17, 1856, shortly after the assembling of the "Opposition" party of New Jersey, the Republicans met in Philadelphia and named as their vice-presidential candidate William L. Dayton, chairman of the Trenton convention. With him was nominated John C. Fremont as the party's candidate for President.

Before the Democratic State convention of 1856

there were five candidates for the gubernatorial nomination. Three, William C. Alexander, Joseph C. Potts, and Charles Skelton, were from Mercer County, while John W. Fennimore was from Burlington and E. V. R. Wright from Hudson County. The choice of the convention was William C. Alexander.

The Democratic platform represented the somewhat uncertain attitude of the northern members of that party concerning the entire question of slavery. While abolitionism was condemned the party did not advocate slavery, holding that it was the duty of New Jersey to avoid any course whereby it would appear to legislate for other States. Both the Kansas "outrages" and "extremists," either in the North or in the South, were condemned, while the Republicans were arraigned for their violent assaults upon Southerners. An invitation was extended to all "Old Line Clay and Webster Whigs" to affiliate with the Democratic party, which pledged itself to encourage agriculture, promote manufactures and the mechanical sciences, stimulate industry, and advance the cause of general education. The result of the national election gave James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge, the Democratic nominees for President and Vice-President, a plurality in New Jersey of 18,605. Not even the name of Dayton could secure more than twenty-eight thousand

votes in the State of his birth, while Fillmore, the nominee of the American party or "straight out" Whigs, had twenty-four thousand.

By the coalition of the Republicans and the American party Dr. William A. Newell was elected governor over his Democratic opponent by a majority of 2,557. He was the first Republican governor of the State.

But one gubernatorial election remained ere the country was plunged into the horrors of civil war. The year 1859 found the Democratic party in control of the House of Assembly and the Senate, although their tenure was by bare majorities.

The Republican party had in the meantime effected a more perfect organization, and in its State convention of 1859 had a plethora of candidates. Charles S. Olden was nominated by Bergen, Mercer, Ocean, and Hunterdon Counties; Joseph Porter by Camden; Andrew K. Hay by Camden, Ocean, and Warren; William K. McDonald by Essex; D. S. Gregory by Hudson; Ephraim Marsh by Hudson, Morris, and Warren; Edward Y. Rogers by Middlesex and Union; and J. W. Allen by Burlington County. The party platform was devoted to opposition to the federal administration, the support of a protective tariff, and a declaration against a revival of the African slave trade. As early as March of that year the *Trenton State Gazette* had declared the policy

of the party would be OPPOSITION to "Nigger Driving Buchananism," "Loco Foco Extravagance," "Slavery Dictation and Slavery Extension," "Ballot Box Stuffing," "King Cotton," and the kind of tariff that makes "Mud Sills" of men, and favoring "Protection to American Industry." The policy delineated opposed filibustering and the taking of fees from debtors to be given an "Aristocratic Chancellor" that he might enjoy a salary of five thousand dollars per year, while government by the court of chancery and the forcible retention of State offices was also condemned. Charles S. Olden was nominated.

The Democrats, after five ballots scattered among seven candidates, selected Edwin V. R. Wright as their nominee for governor. The platform declared against the revival of the slave trade, called for a union among the members of the party who had divided upon the question of the "Lecompton Constitution," and in general terms demanded equality among citizens. The remaining candidates were Thomas H. Herring, Alexander Wurts, Charles Skelton, Joseph C. Potts, George Sykes, Charles Sitgraves, and Peter D. Vroom.

The contest gave Charles S. Olden a majority of 1,601 in a total vote of 105,029, while the Legislature elected comprised a Democratic Senate, and a House of Assembly in which there were thirty

Democrats, twenty-eight Republicans, and two "Americans."

Across the giant stage of American politics the mighty events of the years had moved. Brooks's assault upon Sumner, Walker's filibustering expedition to Nicaragua, Kansas's two constitutional governments, the Dred Scott decision, the admission of Oregon, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and the raid by John Brown at Harper's Ferry had followed one another in rapid, blinding succession. It was, as seen now, a part of the destiny of the republic, a part of that plan which, now unfolded, had yet to be disclosed—a plan so vast, so stupendous, that its workings yet affect, and ever will affect the lives of men.

(END OF VOLUME THREE)









